



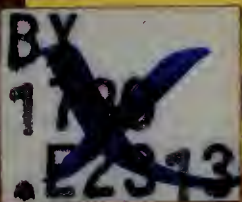
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# Enchiridion of Commonplaces

Against Luther  
and Other Enemies  
of the Church

Translated by Ford Lewis Battles

**John Eck**



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## **Against Luther and Other Enemies of the Church**

**John Eck**

**Translated by  
Ford Lewis Battles**

**BAKER BOOK HOUSE**  
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## PREFACE

This first English translation of John Eck, Enchiridion Looorum Communium, was made in December 1975 - January 1976, as the textbook for a course entitled, "The Reformation in Dialogue," offered at Duquesne University. To Father Charles J. Fenner, Chairman of the Graduate Department of Religion, who invited me to teach, encouraged me to undertake the translation project, and who made arrangements for the initial printing and publication of the book, go my grateful thanks.

Much of the draft translation was dictated to my wife, Marion, whose discriminating eye saved me from more egregious blunders than those which have found their way into the pages of this translation. I am deeply in her debt.

The first edition of the translation was made from the 1529 edition, partially collated with the 1532 edition, and completely checked against the 1572 edition, the only editions available to me at that time. I acknowledge assistance from the now defunct Case Memorial Library of Hartford, Connecticut; Barbour Library, Pittsburgh, Pa; and, for additional texts used in annotation, from the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies of the University of Toronto, and the Center for Reformation Studies of St. Louis, Missouri.

A complete revision of the original translation was made possible by the provision of a microfilm of the 1541 Ingolstadt edition, on which the present edition rests. Recently, Dr. Pierre Fraenkel, Directeur de l'Institut d'Histoire de la Reformation, Geneva, completed (after twelve years of labor) a definitive edition of the Enchiridion, to appear in Corpus Catholicorum, Muenster i.W. Since this edition was not yet available to the translator, l'Institut (through the good offices of Dr. Gerald Hobbs) kindly supplied the 1541 microfilm, considered by the editor to be the best of the many editions printed. There are, however, some significant passages in the 1529 and/or 1532 editions, later suppressed by the author or his successors, which have been included, enclosed within brackets and marginally annotated.

Preface (2)

Chapter 38, On Private Masses (an issue that came to a head at the Imperial Diet of Ratisbonne in 1541) and was subsequently dropped from the text, has been included. The 1541 (eighth) edition is headed by a dedication to Cardinal Alexander Farnese, also translated here.

Among the various persons who assisted the translator, he would mention the following typists: Edward Sieger, Priscilla Boyd, Ethel Brunger, Adrianna J. De Ridder; also Peter De Klerk, Theological Librarian at Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan, for providing a print of the 1541 text, and for many other helps.

Particular thanks go to the Director of the Jagiellonian Library at the University of Krakow, Poland, Prof. dr. hab. Wladyslaw Serczyk and to his staff for the identification of a reference to Maciej from Miechow, Chronica Polonorum (pp. 264, 269, below); and to Tadeusz Z. Korsak, Esq., of Pittsburgh who, through Dr. Feliks Gross of the Polish American Library in New York City, forwarded the translator's query to Krakow.

This, the third edition, undertaken by Baker Book House, contains further improvements, including additional notes.

The translator's purpose has been to provide, in English, Eck's classic controversial work; it lays no claim to definitiveness. The translator has, however, precisely identified many, but not all, of the sources used by Eck. These are largely indicated in the text, within square brackets; sometimes at the foot of the page. Most of the additional end-notes refer to the counter-positions held by Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and others, which are sketched by the author in the sections of the Enchiridion, entitled "Objections of the Heretics." These references are provided chiefly for the convenience of students desirous of reconstructing for themselves the theological dialogue.

16 June 1979

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1. The Life of John Eck (1486-1541)

a. Early Years. Hans Maier was born at Egg (Eck) on the Gunz, in Swabia in November 1486, the son of a peasant, Michael Maier, who was the bailiff of the village. After 1505, he took the surname "Eckius," from his native place. Eck's earliest studies were under the direction of his uncle Martin Maier, the parish priest at Rothenburg on the Neckar.<sup>1</sup> When he was twelve years of age, his uncle sent him to the University of Heidelberg, then to the Universities of Tübingen, Cologne, and lastly Freiburg-im-Breisgau. The twelve years of university study were a time of rapid success, doubtless contributing to Eck's supreme self-confidence which marked his later career. Made sententiarius in 1506, ordained priest at Strasbourg in 1508, he was in 1510 doctor of theology, and was in that year called to the chair of theology, at the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria.

He had already published in 1507 his Logices exercitamenta, which marked him as opposed to the scholastic philosophy, and inclining to the modernist side, an attitude which earned him the opposition of the university senate at Freiburg. Hence his acceptance of the Duke of Bavaria's invitation to the theological chair at Ingolstadt. Entrusted by a ducal commission with the task of finding a via media between rival philosophical factions, Eck published commentaries on Aristotle which became university textbooks. Eck mastered both Greek and Hebrew and made a study of geography. His driving energy and prodigious memory, coupled with his argumentative skill, put his vast learning at the service of the Church.

Eck's earliest theological investigation was concerned with the doctrine of predestination and grace, his Chrysopassus predestinationis (1514). In this work, which O. Chadwick, (The Reformation, p. 94), perhaps too harshly calls "an intellectual

exercise to train his youthful mind," Eck, following St. Bonaventure, accepts conditional predestination and reprobation.

The wideness of his pursuits is illustrated by the fact that in the same year he championed the lending of money at interest against Cochlaeus and Adelman; he debated this topic publicly at Augsburg, advocating a 5% rate; and again the following year (1515) at Bologna. His adversaries called him "the theologian of the Fuggers"; actually his success did win him the patronage of that banking family. His long treatise on usury has remained unpublished. Also in 1515 he debated on predestination. In 1516 he again entered the lists in Vienna. Eck also attacked Erasmus' Annotationes in Novum Testamentum.

b. The Conflict with Martin Luther. Eck and Luther began a friendly correspondence early in 1517. However, when Martin Luther brought forth his 95 Theses on indulgences, he sent a copy to Eck, who did not respond directly, but circulated against Luther his Obelisci (obeliscus is a mark placed on the margin of a book to flag a suspected passage). Luther countered in March 1518 with his Asterisci (asteriscus is a small star, a typographical mark placed before imperfect, deficient passages of authors).<sup>2</sup> Both writings are marked by vehement language. Eck did not answer Luther's Asterisci.

Andreas Bodenstein Carlstadt now entered the quarrel. As dean of the theological faculty of the University of Wittenberg, he wrote 370 theses to defend his faculty against the insult of Eck. Although Eck realized his attack on Luther in the Obelisci had been excessive and so wrote his regrets to Carlstadt, things had gone too far, and a confrontation was inevitable. Hence Eck brought forth counter-theses and challenged Carlstadt to debate. It took nearly a year to make arrangements for the debate, which was held at Leipzig, 27 June- 14 July 1519. During the months of preparation for the debate, Eck first set forth twelve theses,



eleven on indulgences, and one on papal supremacy, the latter clearly a challenge to Luther rather than Carlstadt. To Luther's twelve counter-theses, Eck responded with a revised list, including a thirteenth thesis on free will, directed against Carlstadt.

Luther's party set out from Wittenberg to Leipzig in a group of wagons, the first two of which Carlstadt occupied with his reference books, followed by Luther and Melancthon. The party was surrounded by almost 200 armed students and others. Just before they reached their destination Carlstadt's wagon broke down, scattering his learned tomes in the mud.

The debate was held in the auditorium of the castle. The ground rules for the disputation favored Eck: there were to be no stenographers; the theological faculties at Erfurt and Paris were to judge the debate; lastly, no books were to be admitted--a harsh blow at Carlstadt.

The first seven days of the debate were occupied with arguments between Eck and Carlstadt over the freedom of the will, Eck asserting the necessity of the concurrence of grace and will for all meritorious actions. In the second week Eck and Luther debated the primacy of the pope and the apostolic origin of that office; in the third week they turned to penance, purgatory, indulgences, and the power of the priest to grant absolution. The last three days of the disputation were taken up with new topics between Eck and Carlstadt. Eck, lionized by the Leipzigers, was declared the victor by the Leipzig theologians.

Eck's position in the debate against Luther was voluminously elaborated in his On the Primacy of Peter against Luther (Ingolstadt, 1520). Although in this work, and in the debate that preceded it, Eck made a brilliant use of patristic and conciliar materials, Luther said of him that although he was "a man variously and richly learned in human knowledge and scholastic opinions, he was a miserable debater on the Sacred Scriptures" (Pelikan, Luther the Expositor, p. 111).

The chief immediate outcome of the debate, however, was the framing and promulgation of the papal bull, Exsurge Domine, in which Eck took a large part, and nearly lost his life in trying to publish it in Saxony. Eck continued to hound Luther, making frequent journeys to Rome; in the period 1522-26 he published eight major works against the Reformation. These include: On Penance and Secret Confession, On the Sacraments, On Purgatory, On Satisfaction, On the Beginning of Penance. During this time he virtually established the Senate of the University of Ingolstadt as an inquisition, responsible for the persecution of heretics.

In 1525 his best-known work and principal treatise appeared at Landshut, Enchiridion locorum communium, ostensibly directed against the Loci Communes of Philip Melanchthon, although Luther is of course his prime target. The Enchiridion went through 46 editions between 1525-1576, and 91 editions to 1600. To this we will turn in more detail later in this introduction.

c. The Conflict with the Zwinglians. In 1526 Eck turned his attention to the Swiss Reformers, addressing himself to the eucharistic teachings of Zwingli and Oecolampadius. Eck hoped to debate with Zwingli in person, but the latter, afraid a safe conduct would not be honored, was represented by Oecolampadius, the Reformer of Basel, and Berchthold Haller, the Reformer of Berne. Eck was assisted by Thomas Murner. In characteristic Swiss fashion, the disputation, which began on 19 May in the Church at Baden, was attended by the scholars and representatives of the Swiss Confederation, Catholic and Protestant. Two secretaries were elected from each side to transcribe the debate under oath. Four chairmen were then elected from the representatives of the various towns, who accepted a five-fold agenda. Eck presented seven brief propositions: transubstantiation (1,2), intercession of the saints (3), images (4), purgatory (5), baptism and original sin (6,7). Following the debate the judges voted to condemn



Zwingli. Thus Eck had a part in maintaining a religiously divided Switzerland as well as a divided Germany. Also, the Baden dispute served to confirm the Zwinglians in their memorial view of the Supper against not only the Roman Catholics, but against the Lutherans as well.

Out of the Baden debate came Eck's On the Sacrifice of the Mass (1527) as well as other treatises and sermons which, translated into German, were published at Ingolstadt subsequently.<sup>3</sup>

d. Later Disputations: Augsburg and After. Eck's next major appearance was at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 where, in response to the Confessio Augustana drafted by Philip Melanchthon, he debated with Melanchthon and was a major author (with 20 other Catholic theologians) of the Confutatio Romana (rewritten 5 times at the insistence of the Emperor) to which Melanchthon's Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531) was in reply. The Confutatio expressed agreement with the Lutherans on Civil Government, the Return of Christ in Judgment, and the Cause of Sin, and partial agreement on Free Will. Areas of disagreement included: Communion in both Kinds, the Marriage of Priests, the Mass, Confession, Fasting, Vows, and the Authority of Bishops. During this period he published his Refutation of Zwingli's Articles.

Eck made a complete translation of the Bible into German which appeared in 1537. At the colloquies of Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg (1540-41) Eck stood firm against the Catholic supporters of Conciliation, Contarini, Pflug, and Gropper, even as Luther stood against the more irenic Bucer and Melanchthon.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in their intransigence, Luther and Eck proved to be kindred spirits after all, although at opposite ends of the dispute. The Interim was as stoutly opposed by Eck from the Catholic side as it was by Luther and Calvin from the Protestant. Out of these conversations came Eck's last works, directed primarily against Martin Bucer, the Reformer of Strasbourg, Apology for the Catholic Princes (Ingolstadt, 1542), and Replica Eckii (1543).

As with Luther, conflicting pictures of Eck's character have come down to us. Over against Protestant strictures about his drunkenness, unchastity, greed, and ambition, is the more Catholic picture of a devoted pastor and teacher who as parish priest at Ingolstadt preached in a six-year period 476 sermons. He also left, in his Cure of Souls, a precise account of his pastoral work. Concurrently, he held the chair of theology for 30 years at the University of Ingolstadt, and served as its vice-chancellor.

Eck died 10 February 1543, worn out with his incessant battling for what he held to be the true faith. A collection of his writings against Luther, the Opera contra Ludderum, in four volumes was published in 1530-35. Professor Gerald Hobbs has written me that (1975) with the resumption of the Corpus Catholicorum, there will appear a critical edition of Eck, Enchiridion, under the direction of Professor Frankel at Geneva.

e. Bibliographic note: The material for this biographical essay was drawn from A. Humbert, "Joannes Eck," Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, cols. 2056f; "Eck, Johann Maier," Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed. 8.884f; H. J. Grimm, Career of the Reformer, Luther's Works, vol. 31; The Reformation Era 1500-1650; G. H. Williams, The Radical Reformation; O. Chadwick, The Reformation; R. Banton, Here I Stand (also the source for the picture of Eck printed on the cover); H. Hillerbrand, The Reformation; J. Pelikan, Luther the Expositor; also various works of Eck.

## 2. The Enchiridion

a. Text. Originally made from a composite text, derived from the 1529, 1532 and 1572 editions, it has been totally revised for the second edition from the 1541 Ingolstadt edition. However, some rejected passages from the 1529 and 1532 editions have been included in this translation. They are marked in the margin as are the folios of the 1541 text.

The present translation may be presumed to be provisional in nature; the underlying text, although not a critically established one, is sufficiently accurate to set forth Eck's views without distortion. Numerous references to Canon Law (mainly to Gratian) have been collated with Friedberg's standard text of the Corpus Juris Canonici, to which reference is made by volume and column number. Time did not permit the proving of all the numerous patristic references, except where there was some critical question. All Scripture was conformed to the Vulgate, and the English translation generally follows the standard Duay-Rheims version.

b. The Work of Tilmann. Beginning in the 1529 edition, Eck invited his colleague, F. Tilmann, Prior of the Dominican Convent, Cologne, to provide both brief notes and longer excurses to buttress his arguments. These interpolations are most clearly shown in the edition of 1532: beginnings by \*, ends by aJ. The translator has not tried to mark all these, but the longer additions are noted. Some of these were suppressed or shortened in the edition of 1541.

c. Additions and Relation to Other Works of Eck. The earlier editions of the Enchiridion reflect Eck's indefatigable dialogues with his opponents. The 1529 edition, itself a substantial enlargement of the earlier editions of 1525ff (Chapters 29-33 were added at the end),<sup>5</sup> was in turn expanded, both within existing chapters (e.g., Chapter 2, On Councils) and by the addition of other chapters (e.g., Chapter 9, On Satisfaction). Subsequent to 1532, still other chapters were added (e.g., Chapters 34-36). The edition of 1541 further adds Chapter 37, On the Masses not to be Said in German, and Chapter 38, On Private Masses. As these additions were made, Eck added also references to specialized polemic works by other Catholic controversialists, but also some from his own pen that had appeared chiefly in the decade 1520-1530: On the Primacy of Peter (1520), On Repentance, On Confession, On Images, On the Sacrifice of the Mass (1526), On Purgatory (1523), and various Homilies.

d. Eck's Method. Such system as Eck displays in the Enchiridion is confined largely to the shape of the individual chapters, which really reflect the propositional method of dealing with his opponents in the various disputes: Leipzig (1519), Baden (1526), Augsburg (1530), etc. Nowhere does he deal with the sacraments in general, to take one example. The discussion of the Eucharist is distributed among Chapters 10, 17, 29, and 36. The treatment of the other sacraments is found in Chapters 6, 7, 11, 12, and 35. Sometimes related topics are handled in contiguous chapters, as Authority (Ch. 1), Councils (Ch. 2), Papal Primacy (Ch. 3); or Confession (Ch. 8) and Satisfaction (Ch. 9); Indulgences (Ch. 24) and Purgatory (Ch. 25); Veneration of the Saints (Ch. 15), and Images of the Saints (Ch. 16). But Eck is neither a true scholastic nor a systematic theologian; he is a consummate controversialist who has at his finger-tips a vast supply of texts, scriptural, patristic, and conciliar. In a sense the very retentiveness of his memory is an obstacle to more sustained theologizing.

In most chapters, Eck begins with a group of texts set in Vulgate canonical order; then he passes to texts from the fathers and from later Christian writers, as well as from councils. Many of these non-Biblical texts are taken verbatim from the Decretals of Gratian or of Gregory IX, or at least suggested by the canonists. A full source study would probably disclose that still more texts have been supplied from the canonists; in the present translation only explicit references or other obvious implicit ones have been given. Eck's chief historical source is Cassiodorus' Tripartite History. He cites occasionally the Glossa Ordinaria for Scriptural Exegesis. There are a few references to Roman law.

That Eck is abreast of the texts made available since the invention of printing is seen in his citation of Ignatius (in the long recension, of course, including letters later proved spurious),

and his extensive use of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, an author already cast in question by Erasmus, Luther, and others. These intermixed pseudonymous and genuine early texts are especially used to buttress the authority of the Roman Church and to claim antiquity for practices questioned on historical grounds by the Reformers.

The principal supporting texts having been set forth, Eck now briefly states the chief contrary arguments of his opponents. These are, in the final section of the chapter, refuted seriatim. Sometimes, however, a chapter is divided into several axiomata or propositions, each separately dealt with (e.g., Chapter 1, The Church and Her Authority).

It is obvious from the topical organization of the Enchiridion that the earlier chapters reflect the fundamental initial debates with Luther and his followers. Melancthon is mentioned only once: Eck left to other Catholic controversialists the task of specifically refuting him.<sup>6</sup> Later chapters turn in more detailed fashion to Carlstadt, Zwingli and Oecolampadius. Bucer is mentioned only once, and Calvin of course not at all, for the Enchiridion was a completed book before he came on the Reformatory scene in 1536. Certain topics reflect Eck's concern with regard to the Anabaptists. Especially poignant is his critique of his former pupil and protege, Balthasar Hubmaier, whose burning as a heretic at Vienna in 1528 is twice mentioned.

A study of Eck's argumentation in relation to his opponents will open up for the student the whole Protestant-Roman Catholic dialogue from its inception in 1517 to the period immediately preceding the Council of Trent. This is the chief purpose of this provisional translation.

# NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Chapter 38, below.

<sup>2</sup>Petrus Mosellanus, Oratio de variorum linguarum cognitione paranda, (Basel: Froben, 1519) fol. E 2r: "Origen, instructed in the Hebrew language, if anything varied in the translation from the very sources of Scripture, confuted it with obelisks or marked it with asterisks." Quoted at WA 1.278n.

<sup>3</sup>At Augsburg, July 1530, Eck produced in three days' time against Zwingli, the following short tract: Repulsio Articulorum Zwinglii Caes. Maiestati oblatorum Johanne Eccio Authore. This was in refutation of Zwingli's Fidei Ratio which had appeared earlier in the same month. Zwingli's De Convitiis Eckii may be found in Schuler-Schultheis, Opera Zwingli, vol. 4, pp. 19-29. For an account of Eck's dealing with Zwingli, Oecolampadius and others, see G. R. Potter, Zwingli (1976) especially pp. 44, 137, 153-155, 209, 228, 231, 234, 236, 256, 333, 358, and 404.

<sup>4</sup>John Calvin, who also attended the Colloquy, wrote at Ratisbonne (Regensburg) (1 Jan. 1541) a satirical poem, the Epinicion,\* in which Eck is excoriated. Writing to Farel Calvin said: "Picture to yourself a barbarous sophist flaunting himself stolidly among illiterates, and you have a half-part of Eck." Even less flattering language was used by Calvin in his Dedication of the Hebrews Commentary (1549) toward Eck.

<sup>5</sup>Note the "Preface to the Addition," after Ch. 28, below, which introduces (as of 1529) the added Chs. 29-33, known as the Auctarium.

<sup>6</sup>The best known of these is Johann Cochlaeus, Philippics, which went through several editions (1534ff).

\*Epinicion vv. 101-102 (OS 1.498):

"Eccius hesterno ruber atque inflatus Iaccho  
Praebeat huc duris terga subacta flagris."

"Let Eck, ruddy and bloated with yesterday's wine,  
Submit hither a back subjugated to harsh whips."



To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, and Most Renowned Lord, Alexander Farnese,<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Church of the Title of St. Lawrence in Damascus, and Vice Chancellor, Prince and Most Pious Patron, John Eck commends himself.

Under the patronage of Our Most Holy Lord Paul III, I had published my Enchiridion of Commonplaces against the Lutherans, in the seventh revision, yet when the copies were about to be sold, not only my German friends, but also Italian and Spanish ones begged me to undertake an eighth edition. The new issue concerning the abrogation of private masses, which not only the Protestants but also those who at least confess by mouths among themselves,<sup>2</sup> are striving strenuously to propagate, was urging me; for so the devil toils to wipe out a thing most pleasing to God and most useful to the Church; and this plague is beginning to rage in such a manner, that a canonist<sup>3</sup> recently was not ashamed to press an unlearned book upon the Divine Emperor, the Apostolic Legate, the men of the Holy Roman Empire: in which he calls in doubt whether a Mass ought to be celebrated without communicants and has advised that each worshiper should be permitted freedom.

Aristotle<sup>4</sup> rightly says, "Anyone judges well what he knows well." One devoid of theology wished to prescribe the things all Germany is to believe. But the mind of Electors, princes and states was wiser: on account of this and many other mistakes, they rejected the book, giving their reasons also. Hence the Ratisbonne Conference<sup>5</sup> made no progress in the course of the faith; and betrayed the expectation of most of the faithful. Therefore, I added an increment quite extensive, so that it markedly exceeded the limits of a mere handbook [Enchiridii].<sup>6</sup> Your Eminence has here the origin and cause of the whole German disturbance: and on the other hand also the invincible defense of the Apostolic Church: for I have in no lazy manner wrestled for twenty-three years<sup>7</sup> in this ring. Hail to you! Attend to the business of faith as strictly as you can, and promote a general council,<sup>8</sup> I trust that the Lord God Almighty may grant you long life.<sup>9</sup>

Ingolstadt                      15 August 1541<sup>10</sup>

## DEDICATORY EPISTLE

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ, and Most Godly Prince and Lord, Dr. Conrad à Tungen, Most Worthy Bishop of Würzburg, and Duke of East Franconia, His Most Worshipful Lord, Johannes Eck sends greeting.

St. Paul gives thanks to God in his prayers, O Most Reverend Father and Prince, when he hears of the charity of Philemon and of the faith which he had in the Lord Jesus, and toward all his saints [Philemon v. 4-5]. For Paul, supremely conscious of the secrets of God, had an insight that the faith of any man shines before God when he strives to conform it as much as possible to the saints and friends of God, just as Israel believed not only the Lord but also Moses his servant [Ex 14:31]. And all good and sincere men have earnestly distinguished themselves from the time of Christ's passion even to the present day, but not more than befits wise men [Rom 12:16]. But those who (neglecting this Apostolic rule) "have walked in wonderful things above themselves" [Ps 130:1] and exalted themselves as Lucifer and the noonday demon [cf. Ps 90:6], unwilling to believe in the saints<sup>1</sup> of God, are deceived, and have been given over to the precipice of errors, while they are not afraid to despoil those ancient apostolic men, remarkable in learning, eminent in moral character, notable in authority, and famous for miracles. These persons (I say) have with poisonous teaching, alien to salvation, deviating from right faith, and devoid of truth, endeavored to inveigh against the world. For he who is not convinced by the harmony of the succession of holy fathers in the Church, by the profession and unanimous verdict of councils, must with insolent and proud rashness dash headlong into all sorts of abominable errors. Luther preferred to follow this insane and mad rashness, with his confederates, rather than piously believe, with Philemon, in the saints of God, and the rule of faith which the whole Church observes. For with perverse will he murmurs against the ministers of God, the most holy fathers, and the whole Church, putting his own judgment (O utterly blind pride of the vainest of men!) ahead of all the foremost men of the Church. At the beginning he sketched out his



shameful insanity in a few articles to captivate the ears of the people, in order that they might thirstily quaff from the cup of error more harmful and more virulent things thereafter. He assuredly drove mad the minds of many with the light apprenticeship of indulgences, so that afterward whatever he stirred up toward them, he drove the wind of error against everyone. Thereby it came to pass that from day to day the number of his disciples increased, especially when that Mohammedan liberty advanced, in which it is wonderful how, being exalted, he was pleased to see his own sheep (as David says) prolific [Ps 143:13]. (Thus does Jerome consider this verse to apply to the heretics.) With our sins so driving to these things, they bring forth branches and shoots, more pestilential than the root, since there is no end to the uprising of sects.

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In this unhappy age of ours we experience, namely, image-smashers, image-burners, Capernaïtes,<sup>1</sup> to whom the blessed body of Christ in the Eucharist is a hard word; Catabaptists, who deny the baptism of children, and dip adults. And there is daily divers splitting of all these, so that not even rabbits bear offspring more frequently than these heretics. But God in his anger permits these things, because we do not together with Hosea strongly and with burning devotion pray for God's mercy: "that he may give to them, what should he give them? A sterile womb, and dried-up breasts" [Hos 9:14]. This phrase Jerome<sup>2</sup> most aptly explains in relation to the heretics, who glory in the multitude of people, and in their children whom they nourish unto destruction, that they may lead them from the Church to the executioner. For the devil slays as many children as the heretics have begotten in error. But however greatly heresy prevails over the watchmen of Zion, we must not keep silent, but we must raise our voice like a trumpet against those Philistines defying the battle-line of the living God [f. 1 K 17:45], and we must defend the tower of David with all the strength of our heart, "the tower on which a thousand shields hang, and all the armor of strong men" [Cant 4:4]. All those famous men who excel in the scriptures, strong men they, have strenuously up until now done this. I, too, the least of all, have already often fought at a distance, and also hand to hand, with these fanged beasts. Hand to hand, by disputing at Leipzig with that dragon's head Luther and Carlstadt for twenty days,<sup>3</sup> while that Most Christian Prince, Lord George, Duke of Saxony, sometimes looked on. And in Baden, with the

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A6<sup>r</sup> Capernaite<sup>1</sup> Oecolampadius, and his followers, with representatives of the twelve cantons of Switzerland and four ambassadors of bishops present, I contested for a longer time.<sup>2</sup> From a distance: I tried my hand on the heretics with some books published in Germany and in Italy.<sup>3</sup> Of these the Enchiridion was a book of commonplaces, committed to press four years thereafter<sup>4</sup> and published at the urging of the Most Reverend Lord Cardinal, Lord Laurence of Champagne, legate of the Apostolic See, in order that busier persons who are not lacking great volumes of heroes to ponder, may have ready to hand (as the saying goes) something with which to counteract the heretics. And the simpler-minded ones, who have to swim on the surface, would have a summary of what is to be believed, in order not to be led astray by these false apostles. My opinion did not deceive me, for so kindly and with eager hands (as the saying goes) was this book snapped up by very many, that in this brief interval it has been four times at presses in Bavaria. It has also been printed at Tübingen in Swabia. We have also seen it imprinted in Parisian, Lyonnaise and Cologne type. Hence my close friends have more eagerly urged me to bring out a new edition of the Enchiridion. Although I am almost overwhelmed with very many other literary projects, and with the business of preaching to the people, and of teaching in the schools, my unsuitableness for the task was of small concern to those making the request. Therefore, we have revised previous loci, and made expansions in many places, and have added two new loci after the last augment, that the book may seem thoroughly renewed and new.<sup>5</sup> However slender and slight it may be, I wanted to dedicate it to you, Best of Princes, O Most Reverend Bishop, because the evil offspring begotten of the heretics, now in one way or another, have savagely attacked you and your Church, and, in short, would have brought in contention, if you, performing the duties of the wisest of ship-masters, had not, from such great and tempestuous waves, with wonderful prudence and indomitable fortitude, taken the imperilled vessel to a tranquil haven. May Almighty and Gracious God, out of his ineffable mercy, and thereafter by the intercession of St. Kilian,<sup>6</sup> deign stoutly to protect Your Plenitude against the enemies of faith and Church, and sweetly to nourish it. Thus, with you as leader and victor, may the remaining Catholics and the faithful people be rendered more

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courageous to hold on to, and defend, the true orthodox faith, lest they, given over to the mouth of a raging lion [cf. 1 Pt 5:8], should sink into hell. May it be yours, I pray, most generous patron, to put to good use this our offering, proffered as it is from a sincere heart that deeply loves you, and to persevere happily in the business of faith once begun.

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Farewell and hail, Glory and Ornament of Leaders.

Ingolstadt, Bavaria, on the Holiday of Epiphany, A.D. 1529

### Notes

#### Dedication

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<sup>1</sup>Alexander Farnese was the eldest son of Pier Luigi Farnese, first Duke of Parma and brother of Pope Paul III, his namesake and uncle. The younger Alexander was born in 1520 and died in 1589, the second cardinal of that name after Paul III.

<sup>2</sup>Among Catholics who rejected private masses at this time was the German ecumenist theologian, Georg Witzel (1501-73), on whom see T. A. Thompson, "The Ecclesiology of Georg Witzel, 1501-1573: A Study in the Catholic Reformation," University of Pittsburgh, Ph.D. dissertation, 1977, pp. 186f.

<sup>3</sup>Canonista. In opposition to the Book submitted to the Diet of Ratisbonne, Articles were submitted by the Protestants. See note 5, below.

<sup>4</sup>"Unus quisque bene iudicat, quae bene novit." Aristotle.

<sup>5</sup>The Imperial Diet of Ratisbonne (Regensburg) April-May 1541. For Acts, see Opera Calvini (CR) 5.509-684. Among the Articles of the Protestants, the eighth topic is: "Private Masses and the Whole Practice of the Sacrament."

<sup>6</sup>Chapter 38, On Private Masses, pp. 270-284, below.

<sup>7</sup>Since 1517, the year Luther's movement began.

<sup>8</sup>The Council of Trent opened in 1545.

<sup>9</sup>nestorios . . . annos: A reference to the aged Nestor of Homer's Iliad.

<sup>10</sup>Note that the date is of the Assumption of B M V. This dedication has been translated from the 1541 Ingolstadt edition, fol. A2<sup>r</sup> - A3<sup>r</sup>.

Dedicatory Epistle

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<sup>1</sup>Saints 1541: Sanctos                      1572: Sermone.

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<sup>1</sup>Capernaïtes. Cf. Mt 11:23: "And you, Capernaum, will you be exalted to heaven? You shall be brought down to Hades. For if the mighty works done in you had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day." Cf. LWAE, 38.72 or 79. Also, ch. 29, p.192 and ch. 30, p.207, below. Eck uses the term to refer to those who with Zwingli held a significatory interpretation of the formula "hoc est corpus meum."

<sup>2</sup>Jerome

<sup>3</sup>27 June - 14 July 1519. See Introduction, p. 4\*, above.

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 3, note 1, above.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 6\*, note 1, above; and chs. 29-30, passim.

<sup>3</sup>See Introduction, p. 5\*, above.

<sup>4</sup>1525. See p. 6\*, above.

<sup>5</sup>In 1532 chapters were added on "Satisfaction" (fol. E1<sup>v</sup> - E4<sup>r</sup>), "Against the Mass in German" (fol. M9<sup>v</sup> - M12<sup>r</sup>); later, chapters on the "Building and Decoration of Churches," "The Indelible Sacramental Stamp," and "Transubstantiation" were added. The 1541 (Ingolstadt) edition carries a final chapter on "Private Masses" (fol. 240<sup>r</sup> - 254<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>6</sup>St. Kilian, an Irish missionary and ascetic, lived at Würzburg in Thuringia (c. 700). He suffered martyrdom.

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<sup>1</sup>This dedicatory epistle, first published within the edition of 1529, was reprinted in subsequent editions of the Enchiridion.

CHAPTER 1  
ON THE CHURCH AND HER AUTHORITY<sup>1</sup>

The First Proposition has three members.

Proposition 1: The Church is the body of Christ, the bride of Christ, the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>2</sup>

i. He has subjected all things under His feet, and gives Himself as Head over all the Church, His Body, and its fulness, filling all things in all" [Eph 1:22-23].<sup>3</sup>

"May you walk worthy of the calling with which you were called, with all lowliness and meekness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. One body and one Spirit, even as you were called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in us all" [Eph 4:1-6].

ii. The proof of the second part of the first proposition, namely, the Church is the Bride of Christ.

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"One is my dove, my perfect one, she is the only one of her mother, she is the chosen one of her who bore her" [Cant 6:9]. "A garden enclosed is my sister, my bride, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed" [Cant 4:12].

"Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the Head of the Church, and He is the Savior of the body. But just as the Church is subject to Christ, so also are wives subject to their husbands in all things. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ has loved the Church, and gave Himself for her, that He might sanctify her, cleansing her by the layer of water in the Word of life, that He might present her to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that she should be holy and without blemish" [Eph 5:22-27].<sup>4</sup>

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Of Jerusalem like a bride adorned for her husband [Rev 21:2].

"But you are the body of Christ, and members one of another"  
[1 Cor 10:17; 12:12; Rom 12:5].

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Thus therefore the Church is one, not outwardly, but inwardly,<sup>1</sup> as the ark of Noah was one [1 Pt. 3:20f] which was the figure of the one Church; outside that one sealed Church no one is saved, just as men outside the ark perished. Christ is no bigamist: the Church of the apostles and ours are one Church. Before Luther was born, there was the Church that believed the Mass a sacrifice, seven sacraments, etc. She was the bride of Christ. Therefore now let us remain with that same Church, and not be joined to the Church of the wicked. Christ, because He loves the Church His bride, did not leave her, neither for five hundred nor a thousand years. How then would the Head desert His body for so long a time?<sup>2</sup> When He forsook the Synagogue, less loved on account of sins, only seventy years in the physical captivity of Babylon, how would He forsake His bride one thousand years in captivity of errors?

iii. Proof of the third part of the proposition, namely, the Church is the kingdom of heaven:<sup>3</sup> "For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is a householder, who went out early in the morning to hire laborers for his vineyard" [Matt 20:1].

"The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, who made a marriage feast for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the marriage feast . . ." [Matt 22:2f].  
"Then is the kingdom of heaven like ten virgins who took their lamps and went forth to meet the bridegroom, and the bride; five of these moreover were foolish . . ." [Matt 23:1f].

You will find many similar parables.

Application inferring three corollaries:

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1. If the Church is here called the kingdom of heaven, how could error and falsehood reign in that kingdom for a thousand



years? For the kingdom of heaven is the kingdom of truth.

2. It is clear that God goes out even until evening to bring in workers [cf. Mt 20:6f]; but the Lutherans believe on the contrary that no one was brought in for a thousand years,<sup>1</sup> except their idol, Luther.

3. It is clear that the Church here on pilgrimage has been gathered from good and bad, for Christ clearly says that there are wise and foolish virgins [cf. Mt 25:2ff], good and bad fish [Mt 13:44-52]. See Gregory, Homilies, [1.11.4; 1.12.3: PL 76.1116, 1120].

Proposition 2: The Church does not err, not only because she always has Christ as her Bridegroom, but also because she is ruled by the teaching authority of the Holy Spirit who never forsakes her.<sup>2</sup>

"I shall ask my Father, and He will give you another comforter" [Jn 14:16].

"Holy Father, preserve in thy name those whom thou hast sent to me" [Jn 17:11].

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"Moreover, I pray not only for those apostles, but also for those who are going to believe through their words, in me" [Jn 17:20].

"The Church of the living God is the pillar and foundation of truth" [1 Tim 3:15]. How then can it err?

"I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot hear them now. When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He shall teach you all truth" [Jn 16:12f]. Here the Lutheran must show us the Gospel, the teaching authority of the Holy Spirit, promised in the Church.<sup>3</sup>

"And you need not that any one teach you; but as His anointing teaches you concerning all things, and is true, and is no lie" [1 Jn 2:27]. Therefore, the anointing of the Holy Spirit always teaches the Church.

"And behold I am with you always, even to the end of the world" [Mt 28:20], said Christ (who is the way, the truth, and the

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life) to His disciples. It is clear that the Church as the pillar of truth, with Christ as leader and the Holy Spirit as teacher, does not err. How much less believable is it then that the whole Church would err for a thousand years, as the Lutherans rave!<sup>1</sup>

Proposition 3: Even as the Church is one, so is there Unity in the Church.

"I beseech you, brethren, to mark those who make decisions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which you have learned" [Rom 16:17]. Later: "They serve not Christ . . . but their own belly." Later: "Their pleasing speeches . . . deceive the hearts of the innocent" [Rom 16:18].

3<sup>v</sup> "I beg of you, moreover, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that all of you say this, and that there not be schisms among you; be perfect in the same mind and the same knowledge" [1 Cor 1:10]. The Lutherans cause new schisms and fight both among themselves and with others, so that now Carlstadt has broken off, and Egranus\*, and Luther, and Zwingli, and the Cata-baptists. "For God is not a God of dissension but of peace, just as I teach in all the Churches of the saints" [1 Cor 14:33].<sup>2</sup>

Rather therefore is it to be believed that God inspires a true understanding of Scripture to the concord and unity of the Church, than to one private man such as Luther or Zwingli or Osiander: nay, it follows, that what Holy Mother Church defines or accepts is not to be believed with less firmness or held in less veneration than if it were expressed in Scripture.

4<sup>r</sup> "Whatever things were written were written for our instruction, that through patience and through comfort of the scriptures we might have hope. Now the God of comfort and of patience grant you to be of the same mind one with another according to Christ Jesus; that with one accord you may with one mouth glorify God,

\*Johann Egran, Pastor at Zwickau. See Luther, Letter of Dedication, The Freedom of a Christian. Eck's 1541 edition does not carry his name.



in prayer to God"[Rom 15:5-6]. Almighty everlasting God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is sanctified and ruled.

Paul subjoins, after the reckoning of the mystical body:  
"Be of the same mind one towards another; set not your mind on lofty things, but condescend to things that are lowly"[Rom 12:16].

"If there is any consolation in Christ, if any consolation of charities, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels of compassion, fulfill my joy, that you be of the same mind, having the same charity, being of one mind. . ." [Phil 2:1f].

My people have done two evil things: "They have forsaken the fountain of the water of life, and they have dug for themselves leaky cisterns, which cannot contain water" [Jer 2:13].<sup>1</sup> Thus the Lutherans, leaving the true and living fountain of the Church, dig leaky cisterns of heretics, of Wyclif, Hus, the Albigenses, and others. In vain God sent His Son, in vain the Holy Spirit, in vain the apostles, martyrs, doctors, confessors, if through Luther alone the light of truth was to be opened. Why then did God not send one Luther for all?

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Proposition 4: It is clear that, representatively, the Church is her prelates and leaders gathered together.

"And the king turned his face about, and blessed all the Church of Israel, and all the Church of Israel stood," etc. [1 K 8:14]. Note "the Church of Israel"; what alone would be more representative is clear from the beginning of this chapter: "Then all the elders of Israel were assembled, with the heads of the tribes, and the leaders of the families of the children of Israel unto King Solomon," etc. [1 K 8:1].

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#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. The authority of Scripture<sup>2</sup> is greater than that of the Church. For the Church ought to be ruled according to Scripture. For the Word of God yields to no one.

2. It is not lawful for either the Church or any man to go against Scripture.

3. One does not say that what the Pope with the Cardinals and the bishops determines has been determined by the Church, because the Church is the congregation of all believers and the connection in true faith by which the just man lives.

4. The Church of God is in the Spirit alone, because she is believed, and thus hidden.

5. Luther says that he is of the Church, and believes the Church is with him, where he is preacher. So also Zwingli, Carlstadt, Pelican, Soblerus, Hubmaier Pacimontanus\*, etc.

#### Disposal of Objections.

1. Christ did not write any book, nor did He bid the disciples or apostles to write one, yet He gave many precepts concerning the Church; hence when about to send apostles out to plant the Church, He did not say, "Go write," but "Go into the whole world and preach the Gospel to every creature" [Mt. 24:14]. Therefore the law was written on tablets of stone, but the Gospel on hearts. "Since you are a letter of Christ, sent out by us, and written not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God, not in tablets of stone, but in the physical tablets of the heart" [2 Cor 3:3]. Jeremiah agrees: "Behold, the day is coming, says the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not like the covenant I made with your fathers, etc., but this will be one which I shall make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord; I shall give my law in their inward parts, and in their heart I shall write it, and I will be their God and they will be my people" [Jer 31:31-33]. Jerome: Why is it necessary to take into one's hands what the Church does not receive?

2. The Church is older than Scripture, for when the Apostles began to preach, there was no written Gospel, no letter of Paul, and yet there was the Church dedicated by Christ's blood.<sup>1</sup>

\*Hubmaier Pacimontanus: "Balthasar Hubmaier, who now calls himself 'Friedberger' Pacimontanus=Friedberger 1481-1528 (see ch. 16, p. 124, below). Hubmaier, born at Friedberg near Augsburg, was originally a protegee of Eck, at Freiburg, then Ingolstadt where Eck delivered the oration upon his receiving the doctorate.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the apostles without the Scripture of the New Testament chose Matthias [Acts 1:22ff], ordained seven deacons [Acts 6:3]; Peter caused Ananias and Sapphira to die [Acts 5:1ff]. Even though the apostles were very diligent in sowing the Word of God, yet very few things are found written by them. It follows logically that they taught many more things than they wrote; the things taught have equal authority with the things written.

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3. Scripture is not authentic without the Church's authority:<sup>1</sup> for the canonical writers are members of the Church. Hence against a heretic wishing to contend against the Church's constitution and custom one objects with the very weapons whereby he wishes to contend against the Church. He is going to quote the canonical Scriptures of the four Gospels, and the Pauline Epistles. Let the objection immediately be raised against him: how does he know that these Scriptures are canonical except from the Church, for why does he believe the Gospel of Mark, who did not see Christ, to be canonical, and not the Gospel of Nicodemus, who saw and heard Christ, as John testifies [Jn 3:1ff]? So why has the Gospel of Luke the disciple been received, and the Gospel of Bartholomew the apostle been rejected, unless we humbly confess the authority of the Church with the Blessed Augustine, something Luther<sup>2</sup> sometimes taught, that the Church could judge concerning the Scriptures.

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Therefore it thus is clear that the Church is older than Scripture, and Scripture would not be authentic without the Church's authority.<sup>3</sup> Hence, Augustine, Against the Epistle Called Fundamental, 5.6 [PL 42.176]: "I would not have believed the Gospel unless the authority of the Church<sup>5</sup> had moved me to do so."<sup>4</sup> More below on Scripture at Chapter 4.

1. Scripture teaches: "Remember to hallow the Sabbath day; six days shall you labor and do all your work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath day of the Lord your God," etc.\* Yet the Church has changed the Sabbath into Sunday on its own authority, on which you have no Scripture.

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\*Ex 20:8ff

ii. <sup>1</sup> Christ said to His disciples on the mountain: "I have not come to abolish the law but to fulfill it" [Matt 5:17]. And yet the Church of the apostles in council boldly made pronouncement on the cessation of legal matters.

iii. In the final chapter of Matthew, Christ said to the disciples: "Go therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" [Matt 28:19f]. Here Christ gave the form of baptizing explicitly in the name of the Trinity, and yet the primitive Church changed this form of baptizing to "in the name of Christ Jesus." "Repent," says Peter, "and let each one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ in forgiveness of your sins" [Acts 2:38].<sup>2</sup> And in Acts 8 [:12] it is said that the Samaritans were baptized by Philip in the name of Jesus. And in Acts 19 [:5]: "When these things were heard they were baptized by Philip in the name of Jesus," that is, by Paul.

iv. Scripture is defined in the council:<sup>3</sup> "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" [Acts 15:28] etc., "that you should abstain from sacrifices offered to idols, and blood and things strangled" [v. 29].<sup>4</sup> This matter, so clearly defined and expressed, the Church by her authority changed, because she uses both blood and strangled meat.

Note the power of the Church over scripture.<sup>5</sup> See below, Chapter 13, On Human Constitutions.

v. Now if you wish to live more according to the scriptures than according to the authority of the Church, now all the Jews coming to baptism would be held to the law of Moses, for thus they would find in the Scriptures that apostles and other converts have lived. James and the elders spoke to Paul returning from the Gentiles: "See, brother, how many there are among the Jews who have believed, and all are emulators of the law. Moreover, they have heard of you, that you teach all the Jews that are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise

their children, nor to walk according to their custom. What is it therefore? The multitude must needs come together, for they will hear that you have come. Do therefore this which we say to you. We have four men that have a vow on them; having taken them, purify yourself with them, and be at charge for them, that they may shave their heads, and all shall know that there is no truth in the things about which they had been informed concerning you, but you walk and yourself keep the law. Moreover, concerning those of the Gentiles who believed, we have written, adjudging that they should keep themselves from idols, from what is sacrificed, from blood and what is strangled, and from fornication" [Acts 21:20-25]. Here, Paul, with many thousands, kept at one behest of the law of St. James.

Would you, O Luther, converted from the Jews today, rather live according to those scriptures, or according to the authority of the Church?

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We confess the Church to be the congregation of all the faithful who are of the body of Christ, and when primates and leaders of any province decide anything, the whole province is said to have decided it. Thus the prelates of the Church are called "the Church," because they represent her and their subjects. Otherwise the Church could never be gathered. "But if he does not hear you . . . tell the Church; but if he does not hear the Church, let him be to you as a Gentile and publican" [Matt 18:16f]. According to Luther's view, if anyone wanted to tell the Church, he would have to traverse the whole earth. Chrysostom [Hom. in Mt, 60.2: PG 58.586] explains: "It clearly refers to the prelates that is, presidents, because he will soon give the power of binding and loosing to the apostles as prelates." "If you perceived a case before you difficult and ambiguous to judge, between blood and blood, between cause and cause, between leper and non-leper, and you saw the judgment to be a matter of controversy within your gates: rise up and go up to the place which the Lord your God has chosen and come to the priests of the tribe of Levi, to the judge

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that shall be in those days, and inquire of him, who will judge the truth of the judgment for you, and you shall do what they say, who are in charge of the place the Lord has chosen, and they will teach you according to his law, and you will follow their decision, and turn aside neither to the right nor to the left. But he who in his pride refuses to obey the authority of the priest, who is at that time ministering to the Lord your God, that man will die by the decree of the judge, and you shall remove the evil from Israel, and all the people hearing it will fear, so that none shall henceforth be swollen with pride" [Dt 17:8-13]. See the power of the priest under the law. How much more power do you think the priest under the Gospel has, and ponder the penalty of the disobedient.

"And when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension against them, the brethren decided that Paul and Barnabas and certain others of them should go up to the apostles and presbyters in Jerusalem about this question" [Acts 15:2]. See how the Deuteronomy c. 17 passage was fulfilled. And what was the Church? Not the whole congregation, but they went up to the apostles and presbyters who represented the Church.<sup>1</sup>

4. If the Church is hidden, how did Christ enjoin the telling it to the Church, and if he did not hear the Church, etc. But if it were hidden, what could be said to it, or how would it hear? Likewise the Church is the body of Christ, and the Christians are its members [Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 10:17; 12:12; Eph 1:23; 5:30; Col 1:24]. Let Luther say whether they were hidden and only mathematically the Church, when Paul said: "Now you are the body of Christ, and members each in his part" [1 Cor 12:27].

It is the way of heretics to have caverns and caves and lurking places: the Church puts the lamp upon a lampstand [Lk 8:16]. The Church is shown to you in councils, in the Apostolic See, in bishops and leaders of individual Churches. For if the Church were only mathematical, the brother of Paul (Timothy)



would not have praise through all the Churches [2 Cor 1:1]. David would not have said: "With you is my praise in the great church" [Ps 21:26], "and in the seat of the elders let them praise him" [Ps 106:32]. For this see Augustine on the First Epistle of John, the first tractate at the end.<sup>1</sup>

5. What Luther says, all the heretics have said. Accordingly Augustine inveighs against the Donatists, who wanted to confine the universal Church to the cornerstone of a few heretics. See more in Johann Cochlaeus, On the Authority of the Church,<sup>2</sup> and John Fisher. Among the older writers see Juan Torquemada,<sup>3</sup> who wrote extensively on behalf of the Church.

CHAPTER 2  
ON COUNCILS<sup>1</sup>

Because the Authority of the Church Rests Chiefly in Councils,  
We Shall Now Deal in a Proper Order concerning Councils.

1532 Proposition 1: Examples are found of the convening of coun-  
cils in the Church [both by the Fathers of  
the Old Testament and] by the Apostles in  
the New Testament.

1532 [In the Old Testament an example is inferred where it is said:  
"leading men of the synagogue, and who in the time of assembly were  
called by name" [Num 16:2]. "Obededom and his sons were assigned  
to the south, in which part of the house was the council of the  
elders" [1 Ch 25:16].

[But in the New Testament one reads in the Acts of the Apostles  
of more councils being convened. I first mention one, after the  
ascension of the Lord, concerning the election of Matthias, where  
"Peter rising up in the midst of the brethren said . . . Men,  
brethren, the scripture must needs be fulfilled of which the Holy  
Spirit spoke before through the mouth of David concerning Judas,  
who was the leader of those who apprehended Jesus" [Acts 1:15ff].

[The second council was convened over the establishment of  
deacons for the ministry of the daily dispensation: "Then the  
Apostles, calling together the multitude of the disciples, said:  
It is not fitting that we should leave the word of God and serve  
tables. Therefore, select from among you seven men of good reputa-  
tion, full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, for us to appoint over  
this business" [Acts 6:2f].

12<sup>r</sup> [The third council was concerned with the question of observing  
legal matters; of this it is said:] "But there arose some of the  
sect of the Pharisees that believed, saying: They must be circum-  
cized, and be commanded to observe the law of Moses. And the



Apostles and elders assembled to consider this matter" [Acts 15:5f], and afterwards a decision was made. "For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us, to lay no further burden upon you than these necessary things: that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which things keeping yourselves, you shall do well" [Acts 15:28f]. Note the form of the Apostolic Council. The Apostles and Elders assembled. The Gentiles did not set themselves against the Apostles. Now, by what authority, by what scripture, do you, Luther, do this toward councils?<sup>1</sup> Why do you deprive us of the freedom given by Christ? For even if in deliberating they should cite scripture from Amos ch. 9 [1ff], yet thereby they have brought forward nothing to forbid these three; likewise they have added no scripture in the decision.

12<sup>v</sup>

Antioch too accepted Jerusalem's decision. Luther despises Rome's decision. It is clear that a council had the power of determining that any were necessary for that time, which nevertheless was not simply necessary for faith. Why then is the same power not today in the Church, as often as necessity demands it? There is the same Christ, the same Spirit, the same faith. Why then is there not an equal power of councils?

13<sup>r</sup>

[A fourth council was held by the Apostles in Jerusalem to do away with the suspicion of certain Jews, who thought Paul treated the ceremonies of the Law as if they were idolatry [Acts 15].

1532

[The fifth council was gathered under Paul at Miletus, concerning the rule of the Church, when "Paul sending to Ephesus, called the elders of the Church. And when they had come to him and were together, he said to them: You know . . ." [Acts 20:17]. And later: "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock . . ." [Acts 20:28].] Likewise the Apostles celebrated another synod. For, about to set out to preach the Gospel throughout the earth, according to the Lord's command, meeting together, and each one offering his opinions, they handed on the Creed, as it is held from the tradition of the fathers, which the whole Church holds. For so

13<sup>r</sup>

St. Clement, disciple and successor of the Apostles attests in his decrees. Likewise Pope Leo I, writing to Augustine, says: "The short and perfect confession of the Catholic Creed has been sealed by the decisions of the twelve Apostles." Likewise Ambrose, esteeming the key of the kingdom of heaven to be the faith of the Apostles, says: "I believe that this key has been fashioned by labor of the twelve workmen. For holy faith was conceived by the Creed of the twelve Apostles, who as skilled workmen coming together as one, fashioned the key by their council. For they called that Creed a key, through which the devil's darkness is laid open, that the light of Christ may come."

"Do not transgress the ancient boundaries, which your fathers have laid" [Prov 22:28].<sup>1</sup>

"Again, I say to you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, concerning anything whatsoever they shall ask, it shall be done to them by my Father who is in heaven. For where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" [Mt 18:19f]. No one can more clearly be proved not to have heard the Church than if he did not hear a council.

In no place is there greater agreement than in a council. In no place are more gathered in the Lord's name than in general councils.<sup>2</sup>

"Ask the bygone generation, and diligently seek out the memory of the fathers, for we are but of yesterday and know nothing, for our days on earth are a shadow; they will teach you, and tell you, and utter words out of their heart" [Job 8:8-10]. "Wisdom is with the elders, and prudence in length of days" [Job 12:12]. Therefore let us hear councils and fathers, not heretics recently born and apostates. If the authority of councils be taken away, then all things in the Church will be ambiguous, doubtful, uncertain, unsure, for at once will all the heresies condemned by councils return. But if you fight against them with Scripture, now cut off from the authority of the Church, they will reject whatever they

please, as Luther rejected the Epistle of St. James, because it was in disagreement with him, and likewise Maccabees. And once the heretics did not accept the four Gospels, just as the Manichees rejected the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> A matter to be pitied indeed! If that notion of the heretics were true, whenever any doubt arises concerning the faith, there would be no way of deciding it, but each one, according to the prudence of his own head, would incline to one side or the other. How then would Christ have sufficiently provided for His Church through the Gospel Law, which nevertheless ought to be utterly perfect? "He that shall contradict your mouth . . . let him die" [Josh 1:18].

14<sup>v</sup>

"How great things he commanded our fathers, that they should make the same known to their children, that another generation might know them" [Ps 77:5f]. Therefore, let us believe the commandments, and trust the councils and the fathers.

Augustine, Epistle to Januaris [54.1]:<sup>2</sup> "Those unwritten traditions that we preserve, which are observed throughout the earth, one is to understand, what by the Apostles themselves or plenary Councils (whose authority in the Church is most conducive to salvation) have been commanded and established to be kept." [Gratian, Decr., 1.12.11: Fr 1.29] Hence it is utterly insolent madness to argue over whether such things are to be done. Therefore the Lutherans are insolent and mad.

15<sup>r</sup>

Augustine, Against the Donatists, 7.[1.1], assumes that the holy Catholic Church is fortified against the Donatists with the authority of a plenary council. And Book 1, chapter 18 [.28] adjudges a plenary Council to have the agreement of the entire Church.

Gregory in his Epistles [3.10]: "Just as the four books of the Evangelists, so also the four Councils do I confess to accept and venerate: namely, Nicea, Constantinople,\* Ephesus, and Chalcedon." [Gratian, Decr. 1.15.2, Fr. 1.35.]

15<sup>v</sup>

\*Constantinople I (A.D. 381)

Proposition 2: The greater Churches (just as they are in Council) represent the whole Church.

This is very often made clear in Exodus.\* Take for example Ex 19:3, when God willed to give the Law to Moses, He commanded him: "These things you shall say to the house of Jacob and tell the children of Israel," etc. And yet afterwards of Moses it is said: "Moses came, and calling together the chief born of the people, he set forth all the words . . ." etc. [Ex 19:7].

And although only the elders of the people answered, when Moses spoke to them, still the text subjoins: "All the people answered together" [Ex 19:8] etc. It was not all the people, unless by representation.

16<sup>r</sup> "Ask your father, and he will declare to you: your elders and they will tell you" [Dt 32:7]. Now a stupid people and proud citizens ask Luther, Zwingli, Blarer,<sup>1</sup> Osiander, Bucer.

"Despise not the discourse of the wise elders, . . . but acquaint yourself with their proverbs. For from them you shall learn wisdom and instruction of understanding, and to serve great men without blame" [Ecclus 8:9f]. Let not the discourse of the elders be passed over, for they have learned from their fathers, since from them you shall learn understanding and instruction.

#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. In a council are men: therefore they often deceive and are deceived, since "Every man is a liar" [Ps 115:11].\*\*

2. It is understood that the Council of Carthage under the holy man Cyprian with 80 bishops erred concerning the rebaptizing of heretics.

16<sup>v</sup> 3. Likewise the plenary Council of Rimini of 600 bishops erred with Arius. And Ephesus II likewise with Eutyches<sup>2</sup> and Dioscorus. And the Council of Constantinople<sup>3</sup> under the Emperor Constantine on the abolition of images.

<sup>1</sup>Ambrosius Blarer or Blauer (1492-1564), Reformer of Constance.

<sup>2</sup>Hieria, A.D. 754

<sup>3</sup>Constantine V Copronymus

4. And also general councils unanimously undertaken determined various things, even in those things which are set forth to be believed: as the Council of Constance on the primacy of the Pope, against the Councils of Nicea and Africa.

Objections of the Laity evilly influenced by the Lutherans.

Since the Laity are of the Church, and there is no less a question about the salvation of their souls than of the clergy's it is fitting that they should take part.

Disposal of Objections.

1. We admit that those who assemble in Councils are men, yet in a lawful General Council, they are governed by the Holy Spirit as their guide,<sup>1</sup> who does not allow them to be deceived. For Paul and John, Isaiah and David, were men, yet Paul says in his Epistle to the Galatians (1:8):<sup>2</sup> "If an angel from heaven should preach a gospel other than what we have preached to you, let him be anathema." Therefore the canonical writers wrote infallibly, yet they were men. Likewise the fathers in the Councils.

17<sup>r</sup>

2. That Council of Carthage was not plenary but particular, as Augustine shows against the Donatists: particular councils can err, and be corrected by general councils (Aug, Against the Donatists, 2 [3.4]. And that the very councils which take place throughout individual regions and provinces, without any doubt yield to the authority of plenary councils, convened from the whole Christian world, is clear by the evidence of things.

3. The synod of Rimini was not a council, nor was it lawfully gathered. The works of the heretics were forced upon Liberius against his will, contrary to the Council of Nicea, with Taurus, the prefect, urging by prayers and threats on behalf of the Arians at the command of the emperor. And the simple-minded Eastern bishops were led astray by the subterfuges of the heretics; afterwards when they understood them, they retracted the conclusions of Rimini. So also the Synod of Ephesus\* in which the heretic Dioscorus presided,

17<sup>v</sup>

\*Ephesus II (A.D. 449)



was not lawfully convened, since the Pope's legates refused to approach that evil place, and it was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon.

Thus the impious Emperor Constantine\* when he was repulsed by the pontiff gathered the Synod of Constantinople,<sup>1</sup> which was afterward condemned by the Second Council of Nicea<sup>2</sup> under the Empress Irene; hence likewise Carlstadt, Zwingli, Hetzman, Blarer, repulsing Luther in this point, have been condemned.

Note here that general councils, gathered in the Holy Spirit, never are found to have departed from the way of truth, most especially on defining those matters which pertain to orthodox faith and right morals. But councils convoked by the command and assent of heretics have always<sup>3</sup> departed from the right faith. Such was the Council of Rimini.<sup>3</sup> Concerning this the Ecclesiastical History, [Sozomen, 4.16-19], amply speaks. Such also was the Council of Milan,<sup>4</sup> convened at the command of Constantius the Arian Emperor, to obtain the condemnation of Athanasius, the keenest defender of the faith. In this council, the Catholic bishops Dionysius, Eusebius, Paulinus, Hilary, and some others, because they would not subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius, were driven into exile, as is stated in the Ecclesiastical History, [Sozomen, 4.9]. Of this sort also was the Council of Antioch<sup>5</sup> under the Arian Emperor Constantius, celebrated in the confession of 40 bishops, where Athanasius was ejected from his episcopal see which he held in Alexandria, and condemned to exile: so that thereupon the strength and authority of the Council of Nicea might be more readily destroyed, and falsehood triumph over truth (more fully recalled in Hist. Tripart., 4.9). Similar<sup>6</sup> also was the council afterwards assembled at Seleucia in Isauria of 160 bishops against the Council of Nicea. See Hist. Tripart., 5.34. Plenary councils, which are concerned with morals and the governance of the Church, have made various decisions according to the quality and condition of times, persons, etc. without prejudice to faith.<sup>7</sup> Hence Innocent III speaks as follows on

\*Constantine V, Copronymus



consanguinity and affinity [Decr. Greg. IX, 4:14.8; Friedberg, 2.703.53-57]: "It ought not to be judged reprehensible, if according to the variety of the times, human statutes may vary now and again, especially when urgent necessity or evident utility demands it, since God Himself made some changes in the New Testament from those which He laid down in the Old."<sup>1</sup> So he speaks. Yet lawful general councils have not contradicted themselves in matters of belief. This is Augustine's view: that previous plenary councils are emended by later ones [Against the Donatists, 2.3.4]. Moreover on the fact that the African and Nicene Councils are not in conflict with that of Constantinople, see Ch. 3, below, On the Papacy.<sup>2</sup>

The laity can take part in councils as witnesses, as defenders, as conciliarists, as advisors, as executors, yet since the birth of Christ they have never had a definitive voice in councils. In Acts 15:2: " . . . they determined that Paul and Barnabas should go up, and certain of the other side, to the Apostles and presbyters to Jerusalem about this question." Note that they went up to the clergy, not to the laity, and no mention is made of laymen in that same council.

19<sup>v</sup>

In the eighth council, the fourth session, the princes bidden to interrogate, said: "As we are following your word, we shall interrogate them by virtue of your precept, not . . . by our own authority, for this authority belongs to you."

The Emperor Basil says of the laity: "Although it is not permitted to them according to the canon to say anything substantial concerning ecclesiastical cases, for this is the function of pontiffs and bishops." [Constantinople, AD 869]

20<sup>r</sup>

Sozomen [EH. 6.7] relates: "While Valentinian was hastening through Thrace toward Rome, then the bishops of Hellespont of Bithynia sent a legate Hypatian, the president of Heraclia, seeing that he deigned to interest himself in the correction of dogma.

He answered: 'Since I am the least of people, it is not right for me to investigate such things. But let the priests to whom this duty is assigned gather together wherever they will.'

Ambrose to Valentinian, Against Auxentius: "If we examine the order of the Scriptures, or histories of the ancients, who is there who will refuse in a case involving the faith, that bishops are wont to judge concerning Christian emperors, not emperors concerning bishops?"

20<sup>v</sup>

The Emperor Marcian in the Chalcedonian Council said at the synod: "We wish the Council to concern itself with the preservation of the faith, not with displaying power, after the example of the most glorious prince Constantine, in order that, once the truth has been found, the multitude, [already] drawn to depraved doctrine, may not disagree besides." And again: "There are certain definite chapters, which in respect to goods, we reserve to Your Holiness; we have determined that it is fitting that these be disposed of according to rule by you through this synodical council, rather than established by our laws." [Gratian, Decr., 1.96.3: Fr. 1.338]

The Emperor Basil at the End of the 8th Council.

21<sup>r</sup>

"Concerning you laymen, both those in high office and those absolutely converted, I do not have anything more to say than that we are in no way permitted to undertake discussion of ecclesiastical cases, or steadfastly to resist the integrity of the Church, and to oppose a universal council. For such things are the responsibility of patriarchs, pontiffs and bishops to investigate and examine, who have been assigned the office of governing; who have the power of sanctifying and binding and loosing; who have obtained the churchly and heavenly keys. These are not our responsibilities: it is we who ought to be fed, who need to be sanctified, to be bound or loosed from a bond. However much of religion and wisdom a lay person may manifest, or even if he may be inwardly endowed with all virtue, so long as he is a layman, he does not cease being called a sheep. This is the reason why, for those of you established in

the order of sheep, pastors have the subtlety of discussing words, of seeking and striving after the things which are over us. Therefore we must with fear and sincere faith hear them and revere their faces, since they are ministers of Almighty God, and possess his form, and require nothing more than those things which are of our order. Hence by Christ the people are given leave to do not those things which princes, kings, tetrarchs or nobles might tell them, but 'whatever the scribes and Pharisees sitting in Moses' seat, have told you, this observe and practice.'\* But when the heretics seek popular applause, Jeremiah's prediction is fulfilled: 'the prophets prophesied a falsehood, as the priests applauded with their hands, and my people loved such things, but what will happen to them when the end comes?' [Jer 5:31].<sup>1</sup> On these things the Lord speaks through Isaiah: '. . . children that will not hear the laws of God, who say to the seers: see not; and to those that behold: Behold not, for us those things that are right: speak unto us pleasant things, see errors for us. Take away from me the way, turn away the path from me, let the Holy One of Israel cease from before us' [Isaiah 30:9-11]." Do the Lutheran people now say this very thing to their own false prophets? There is therefore a consummate harmony between the Holy Scriptures, the Church and her councils.

21<sup>v</sup>22<sup>r</sup>

\* Mt 23:3<sup>2</sup>

CHAPTER 3  
ON THE PRIMACY OF THE APOSTOLIC AND PETRINE SEE<sup>1</sup>

Because the supreme authority (which we contemplate in councils and in the Apostolic See is within the Church, it is fitting that we briefly affirm the primacy of the Roman Pontiff and of Peter.

22<sup>v</sup> After Peter's confession, Jesus says to him: "Blessed are you Simon Bar-Jonah, because flesh and blood have not revealed to you, but my Father who is in heaven: and I say to you, you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell will not prevail against her: and I will give to you the keys of the Kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever you bind on earth, will be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever you loose on earth, will be loosed also in heaven" [Mt 16:17ff].<sup>2</sup> It is clear how he meant to designate the person of Peter, for he set forth his old name, Simon, his new name, Peter, the name of his father Bar-Jonah, and properly shows this. "You are, and upon this rock," Jerome explains: "That is, upon you, and I will give you the keys," etc.

And through these words the holy fathers attest that the primacy was promised to Peter, and upon Peter the Church was to be built.

23<sup>r</sup> Cyprian, Epist 68.8, to Pupian;<sup>3</sup> and 54.7, to Cornelius.<sup>4</sup>  
Origen, On Matthew, Hom. 6. Jerome, Against the Pelagians 1., and On Matthew, 16.  
Ambrose, Sermon 47.<sup>5</sup>  
Augustine, Against the Epistle of Donatus.<sup>6</sup>  
Chrysostom, On Matthew, Hom. 4.  
Hilary, On Matthew.  
Leo, On the Anniversary of his Assumption of the Pontificate, Sermon 3.  
Gregory, Moralia; Epist., to Emperor Maurice.

Cyril, On John, 2.12; Council of Constantinople IV<sup>\*</sup>; of Pope Nicolas. See our book, On the Primacy of Peter. The power which Christ promised to Peter, He gave after the resurrection. "Jesus said to Simon Peter, Simon, son of John, do you love me more than these? He said to him: Yes, Lord, you know that I love you. He said to him: Feed my sheep" [Jn 21:15]. This he repeated a third time: "Feed my sheep."

23<sup>v</sup>

To Peter alone as the prince of the Apostles in the presence of the other Apostles, He committed the flock: for "to pasture" in the Scriptures means "to rule," and in Ez 34:2; Isaiah 44:28; 56:11; Jer 22:22; Jer 23:1; Ps 72:70f, kings are called "shepherds." This is true in Hebrew and in Greek.

That the primacy was given to Peter through these words, Cyprian, De Simplicitate Praelatorum, attests. Jerome in his Discourse on Peter to Eustochium, Ambrose in his Sermon on Penance, and on the Faith of Peter. Chrysostom On John, Hom. 8, on Repentance. Augustine, Questions on the New and Old Testaments, Qu. 75. Leo in his Sermon on the Lord's Ascension. Gregory, Hom. in Ev., Mk 16, and Epist. to Ciranus. Bernard, in his Sermon 3 On the Seven Loaves. Bede in his Homilies.

24<sup>r</sup>

Peter's primacy is proved from many other passages of Scripture. Lk 22:31f: "Simon, behold Satan has desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for you, that your faith may not fail, and you, being once converted, may confirm your brethren." Note that He prays for Peter more than the rest, and petitions two things: indefectibility of faith and power to confirm the faithful. Thus do the following interpret it: Augustine, Chrysostom, Leo, Cyril, Bede. In Mt, Ch. 17, Christ said to Peter: "Go to the sea, and cast in a hook; and that fish which shall first come up, take; and when you have opened its mouth, you shall find a shekel: take that, and give it to them for me and you" [Mt 17:26]. It is clear that Christ, with many disciples present, equates only Peter with himself in paying tribute. So understand this: Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Origen, Ambrose.

24<sup>v</sup>

\*falso: concilium Chalcedonense octavum. Eck intends the 8th Ecumenical Council - Constantinople IV (AD 869).

Mt 10:2, Mk 3:6, Lk 6:14, where the appointment of the Apostles is described: by all Peter is named as head, first, that Jerome and Chrysostom reckoned on behalf of his primacy on the basis of Jn 21 that Peter alone came to Christ across the waters of the sea. This is the sign of a singular pontificate, says Bernard, On Consideration, to Eugenius. And if to the other disciples it is commanded that they let down their nets, only to Peter is it said "launch out into the deep" [Lk 5:4]. So ponders Ambrose.

We have now heard from the holy fathers: all attribute the primacy to Peter, first promised by the Lord, then after the resurrection set forth over the whole Church. Let some thing be added to these prior proofs.

Dionysius, On the Divine Names, ch. 3.

25<sup>r</sup> Athanasius in his Epistles to Marcus, Liberius, and Felix II, in which he abundantly proves the primacy of the Pope.

Eusebius H.E., 2.14. Augustine On John's Gospel, Tract. 56.\*  
Against the Donatists, 2, etc.

Lactantius, Divine Institutes 7.\*\*

Paulinus, De S. Foelice. Anselm to Pope Urban. Valentinian, Marcian, Phocas, Justinian, Emperors under the title "On the Supreme Trinity and the Catholic Faith."

We have set forth very fully all these matters in our three books On the Primacy of Peter to Leo X,<sup>1</sup> and you will find many rare items in the large work, Against Luther of Johann Faber, Archducal Councillor (now Bishop of Vienna).<sup>2</sup>

25<sup>v</sup> Reason persuades that there was a high priest under the old Law, whose authority was heard [Dt 17 [:9]]. And the monarchical rule is best: and such is the order in the Church Triumphant. This is beautifully confirmed by Gregory Nazianzus: Moses in doubtful times provided for the synagogue [Dt 17: 10ff]. Why should not Christ have provided for His bride the Church?

<sup>1</sup> 1520

<sup>2</sup> Cf. pp. 35 and 144, below.



Gregory, Moralia, 21.15\* "(God) created all men equal in nature, but by reason of merits, he set some behind others in order by a secret dispensation. But this diversity which derives from one (nature), is distributed by divine judgment: so that, since every man does not walk the way of life, one may be ruled by another." The heretic strongly desires that the Church Militant not have a ministerial head; and that there may come to pass in the Church what is written: "In those days there was not a king in Israel, but each man did what seemed good to him" [Jdg 17:6, 18:1, 31; 21:24].

#### Objections of the Heretics

1. Christ did not promise or give to Peter the keys for his own person, but because he was acting in the person of the Church. 26<sup>r</sup>

2. If the Church is built upon Peter the man, the gates of hell have already prevailed against him in the voice of one maid-servant [Mt 26:69-88], and will daily prevail over his successors and sinners.

3. And since the Church was built upon a rock, but his rock was Christ [1 Cor 10:4] it cannot be referred to Peter, ". . . and other foundation can no one lay; save that which has been laid" [1 Cor 3:11].

4. The primitive Church of the Apostles would not have been a Church, since Peter, 18 years after Christ had suffered, was still in Jerusalem. Where then was the Roman Church?

5. Peter never was at Rome.

6. Peter is a member of the Church.

7. How could Peter have been the rock, when in Mt 16:18f Christ said: "Get behind me, Satan."

#### Disposal of the arguments adduced against Peter.

26<sup>v</sup>

1. We admit, with Augustine, that the keys were given to the Church, yet in the person of Peter, that is, Christ formally gave the keys to Peter, for the benefit of the Church; He gave the keys not to one, but to unity. Thus Peter acted in the person of the

Church, just as the Emperor of Germany. Therefore certain persons have the keys, because otherwise there would be no use of them.

2. The gates of hell prevailed against the persons succeeding Peter, yet not against the power of Peter. This succession of Peter abode in power, although the persons might sin. But when Peter denied Christ, the Church had not yet been founded but was to be founded on him, because Christ said: "Upon this rock I shall build my church," that is to say, after the resurrection.

27<sup>r</sup>

3. Even if Christ is the chief rock and primary foundation, yet He has vicars and substitutes, secondary rocks. For alongside Paul's statement that Christ alone is the foundation stands the statement of John [Rev 21:14]: "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them, the twelve names of the twelve apostles, and of the Lamb."

4. Luther is mistaken that Peter came so late to Rome: for he was 5 years in Pontus, and 7 years at Antioch in Asia; afterwards he migrated to Rome: although in the 18th year <sup>1</sup> he came from Rome to Jerusalem to the Council. Now, nothing applies to the matter. For Peter was the supreme pontiff wherever he was, although by the revelation of the Spirit, as St. Marcellus the martyr says, he chose a see for himself at Rome. Therefore Peter was for a time supreme bishop before he became Bishop of Rome.

27<sup>v</sup>

5. This is a new lie of Urban Rieger, <sup>2</sup> or another Lutheran, that Peter never was at Rome and previously Paul converted those of whom he speaks in Gal. 2. St. Jerome attests to that in his comment on Rom 1:11, "that I may impart to you some spiritual grace" etc. To strengthen, he says, those Romans, holding the faith by the preaching of Peter. Paul says he wished to strengthen, not so much from their having been received by Peter, but that their faith might be strengthened by two apostles, witnesses, and doctors: otherwise he would have taken care not to build on another's foundation.

<sup>1</sup> Of Tiberius.

<sup>2</sup> The Reformer of Augsburg.

The very ancient man Hegesippus, who came to Rome under Anicetus in the year of our Lord 160, wrote in Book 3 of On the Destruction of Jerusalem, how Nero sought a pretext for killing the Apostles, and when the command was given that the Apostles<sup>1</sup> be seized, Peter was asked that he give himself over to another.

Dionysius Bishop of the Corinthians, living at Rome A.D. 50, says: "You having admonition\* from Peter and Paul, have joined the planting (plantation) of the Roman Church." Also both men arriving and teaching in this city at the same time, were crowned too with martyrdom in like manner at one and the same time. A certain writer named Gaius under Pope Zephyrinus<sup>2</sup> attests the same thing.

28<sup>r</sup>

Saint Ignatius, a disciple of John the Evangelist, writes to the Tarsians: "What of the fact that Peter was crucified? That Paul and James were cut down with swords? That John was banished to Patmos?" And in his letter to the Romans: "Not just as Peter and Paul do I bid you: for they were Apostles of Jesus Christ, but I am the least." Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, Against Heretics, 3.1., says as follows: "Matthew gave the Scripture of the Gospel to the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul proclaimed the Gospel at Rome, and founded the Church."

And Ch. 3: "By the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul, the Churches of Rome were founded and established." Tertullian, living A.D. 150, wrote in Against Marcion, 3. : "To the Romans, Peter and Paul left the Gospel with the seal of their own blood." And On the Prescription of Heretics, 36, speaking of Rome, he adds: "Where Peter is brought into equality with the Lord's passion."\*\*

28<sup>v</sup>

Eusebius of Caesarea, Hist. 2: says: "In those times of Claudius, by the mercy of divine providence, he led Peter, the most approved of all the Apostles, and the greatest in magnificence of faith and merit of virtue, the prime prince, to the city of Rome."

And in the book De Temporibus: "In the same year, he was seized by Herod." And later: "Peter, a Galilean by birth, the first

<sup>1</sup> Margin (1541 ed.): See Johann Faber \*\*\*

<sup>2</sup> A pseudonymous epistle (PG 5.887ff).

29<sup>r</sup>

pontiff of the Christians, after he had first founded the Church of Antioch, proceeded to Rome, where preaching the Gospel he persevered for 25 years as bishop of the same city."

\*

Gaudentius of Brixen, a very ancient writer, says: "On this day in the city of Rome, the cruelty of Nero slew both for the name of Christ."

Jerome, On Famous Men, c.1 : "Simon Peter, son of John of the province of Galilee, of the village of Bethsaida, brother of Andrew the Apostle, and prince of the Apostles, after his episcopate of the Church of Antioch, and preaching of the dispersion of those who had believed in the circumcision in Pontus, Galatia, Cappodocia, Asia, and Bythynia, in the second year of the Emperor Claudius hastened to Rome to overcome Simon Magus; there he occupied the episcopal see for 25 years."

29<sup>v</sup>

Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Paul's disciple, attested the same to his fellow-disciple Timothy, concerning the passing of the Apostles.

Linus the next pope after Peter, wrote to the Easterns in behalf of the martyrdom of Peter in the city.

Ambrose in Sermon 67, says: "Let us not think it came to pass without cause, that on one day, in one place they bore the sentence of one tyrant, suffered on one day, so that together they came to Christ, in one place, lest Rome should be deprived of either one." etc. And further on: "In the city of Rome, which obtained the chief position and headship of the nations," he speaks of Peter and Paul. Papias of Jerusalem, the hearer of John the Evangelist, attests that Peter wrote his first canonical epistle at Rome.

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[Paulus Orosius, Hist. 6.6, "in the 805th year since the founding of the city of Rome, Tiberius Claudius the fourth after Augustus began to reign, and remained emperor for 16 years. At the beginning of his reign, Peter, Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ came, and taught with faithful word faith unto salvation to all believers, and

\* Brescia

confirmed it with mighty virtues. And thereupon there began to be Christians at Rome." And in the following chapter: "Nero was the first at Rome to inflict torture and death upon the Christians, and ordered them to be tortured through all the provinces with equal persecutions, and attempting to uproot the very name itself, he killed the most blessed Apostles Peter with the cross and Paul with the sword."]<sup>1</sup>

This is attested by Athanasius, Marcellus, Damasus, Leo, Bernard, and innumerable others.

[See Johannes Faber, in his work, past the middle.] \*

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6. We speak of Peter as member and part of the Church, but we deny that he could not besides<sup>2</sup> be the ministerial head, or vicar of the true head. Similarly, it is one thing to act as a private person; something else, as a public person. And if he is head he is undoubtedly a member.

30<sup>r</sup>

7. No wonder that Peter, upbraided by Christ because he decided, contrary to his confession, that Christ should be killed, because not yet had he received the keys, not yet had he been confirmed, not yet had the fulness of the spirit come upon him. Therefore not yet was he the rock, but after the resurrection Christ founded upon him the Church, as Jerome expressly states in his Commentary on Matthew, at that verse.

Lastly, Chrysostom and Hilary would not apply the name of Satan to Peter, but to the devil, the supporter of this advice. Now the fall of the person does not remove the power. Origen, On Matthew, Hom. 3, says: "As yet Peter was leaden, and it could happen that he would have a revelation from the Father, whereby he might profess Christ to be the son of the living God. As yet this great mystery was hidden from him, whereby Christ willed to be crucified for the salvation of the human race, and to rise on the third day."

30<sup>v</sup>

\* Against Luther: cf. p. 30, above.



For when Luther by "rock" understands faith; faith, just as much as grace, is lost in man, and no more is the faith of one man than of another man: and thus upon the faith of all the faithful has the Church been built. And if all the faithful are the foundation, what Church will he then give unless he most ineptly says the same is founded upon himself?

Still Other Objections of the Heretics against Peter and the Pope.

31<sup>r</sup>

1. Peter did not have authority over the Apostles, but the Apostles over him, because they sent him and John into Samaria [Acts 8:14].

2. And Peter did not ever exercise that primacy, as the Pope does; the latter does not wish there to be any bishop in the world, unless he receives the pallium and confirmation from him.

3. Peter knew this was forbidden by Christ in Lk 22:24f, when a contention broke out over who of them was to be regarded as the greatest, Jesus said to them: "The Kings of the Gentiles lord it over them; and they that have power over them, are called beneficent. But you are not so: but he that is greatest among you, let him become the least, and he who is the leader, as he who serves." It is clear (say the heretics) that it is the Kings of the Gentiles, not the pontiffs, who lord it over them.

4. Mk 10:37ff, when the sons of Zebedee aspired to that power, they received the reply: namely, that they should drink of the cup, and yet not be certain where they would sit [Mk 10:39f].

31<sup>v</sup>

5. In Luke 9:46 and Matthew 18:1ff, He taught them that such superiority should be avoided.

6. Paul withstood Peter [Gal 2:11].

7. Pope Victor wishing to excommunicate the Easterns, was forbidden to do so by Irenaeus Bishop of Lyon.

8. Anicetus yielded to Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna.

9. The Eastern bishops did not obey Pope Julius.

10. It was the Emperor Constantine IV who determined that the pope was first.

\*Byzantine Emperor (668-685). See Liber Pontificalis, ed L. Duchesne (1955), 1.363. Cf. C. Head, Justinian II of Byzantium (1972). p. 27.



11. Thus many thousands of martyrs of the Eastern Church would have been condemned, likewise Cyprian, Augustine, Nicolas, because there never was a pope over the churches of Asia, Greece, or Africa.

12. When did he establish the Antiochian, Constantinopolitan, Alexandrian, or Indian bishoprics?

13. Theophilus of Alexandria and Epiphanius deposed Chrysostom, and the same Epiphanius excommunicated John of Jerusalem. 32<sup>r</sup>

14. The Council of Nicea attests that the bishop takes charge of suburban churches.

15. The same council decreed that bishops were to be ordained by provincial bishops, not by the pope.

16. The same council attributed the primacy to the Jerusalem bishopric, not to that of Rome. And Jerusalem was first, because "out of Zion went forth the Law" [Is 2:3].

17. At the Council of Africa IV, the bishop of the prime see was not to be called "prince of bishops" or anything of that sort, but only "bishop of the prime see"; later: not even the Roman pontiff is to be called "universal."

18. Both Pelagius and Gregory rejected the name "universal bishop."

19. The primacy of the pope is proved from the decrees and decretals of the Roman pontiffs, books originating within the last 400 years. 32<sup>v</sup>

We have gone into these matters more deeply because the heretics have shouted more against the rock than they attacked anything else.

#### Disposal of Objections.

1. Now we shall say that Peter exercised the primacy, yet when you argue that Peter was sent into Samaria, why was he thus less than the Apostles? This is the form of argument of the Arians, that the Father sent the Son [Jn 6:44; 10:29; Gal 4:4]. Therefore the Father is greater than the Son, because the sender is greater than the sent. As if Herod who was not greater than the Magi, did

not send the three Magi, to worship the child, and it is frequent that the more powerful are sent from the college and the Senate by counsel or love, not by the authority of inferiors.

33<sup>r</sup> Hence in Joshua 22:11-14 one reads: "And when the children of Israel had heard of it . . . that the children of Ruben and of Gad and the half tribe of Manasses had built an altar in the land of Canaan, upon the banks of the Jordan, over against the children of Israel: they all assembled in Shiloh, to go up and fight against them. And in the meantime they sent to them into the land of Gilead, Phineas the son of Eleazar the priest, and ten princes with him, one of every tribe," that they might censure them for having committed this sacrilege. Note that the Sons of Israel, the lesser people, sent Phineas, who "was their leader before the Lord," as stated in 1 Chr 9:20. Therefore it is clear from these Scriptural passages, that it is of no consequence to assert: he is sent; therefore he is less than the sender or the senders.

33<sup>v</sup> 2. Peter carried out his office. We do not wish to recount what they recounted in Jn 6:69f; Lk 12:41; Mt 19:27; Lk 5:8; Mt 4:18f; Mt 17:23f; Mt 18:21; but when in Acts he had already been created Pontiff, let us hear what he did: for first he directed the ordination of Matthias as an Apostle. "Peter rising up in the midst of the brethren, standing, said: 'Men, brothers. . .'" etc. [Acts 1:15f]. Secondly, on the day of Pentecost, he defended all the Apostles. "Peter standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice" [Acts 2:14]. Thirdly, with John present he healed the lame man and defended him in the presence of the people [Acts 3:1ff]. Fourthly, in the council he defended himself and John [Acts 4:5ff]. Fifthly, he pronounced the death sentence on Ananias and Sapphira [Acts 5:4ff]: this was the greatest indication of coercive authority.

34<sup>r</sup> Sixthly, he condemned the accursed trafficking of Simon [Acts 8:20ff]. Seventhly, he was bidden to receive even Gentiles as prelates into his power, when he saw "a sheet. . . in which there were beasts and reptiles," etc., and a voice came to him: "Arise, Peter; kill and eat" [Acts 10:11-13]. Here he was bidden as head to receive Gentiles in the body of the Church.

Eighthly, in the Apostolic Council he was the author of the decision suspending the law, as Jerome teaches, and Acts 15:7ff. Beware therefore of heretically lying against St. Peter, that he did not use the power divinely bestowed upon him,

Concerning the corollary, it is false, for each patriarch confirmed his own bishops, and the patriarch of Thessalonica confirmed his own bishops in Greece, yet did so as the vicar of the pope, as is clear from the acts of Pope Leo.

The heretic supposes that all bishops have the pallium, which is false, because regularly archbishops have it, and a few bishops by privilege, as the bishop of Bamberg in Germany. [See our treatise On the Primacy, 3.15.] On the reason for the pallium see St. Gregory, Epist.\*

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3. It is agreed that Christ forbade ambition and tyranny, but not authority because that is from God, and "he who resists authority, resists God's ordinance" [Rom 13:2]. There he wished to teach the humility of the president, not to remove his power. In like manner from the fact that He was ministering and also taught other chief persons to minister, anyone would wrongly infer that Christ had no power. And when Christ asked who is the greater among you, it is evident that he wished someone else to be greater in power, although it happened to him that he was the lesser one by the showing forth of ministry.

4/5. We reply similarly, for he willed, as Jerome says, for his followers to reach the pinnacle of virtues, not by power but by humility. For those who are in power ought to humble themselves within, as if they were not in power, that they may become as little children in humility, not in sense and in age.

35<sup>r</sup>

6. Paul reprov'd Peter, because he was holding onto the edification of faith, that is, to the office of the apostolate in which they were equals, yet Peter was still prior in rule and authority. For even today it often happens that the Pope and other superiors are often reprov'd by inferiors. Indeed, the heretic Luther censures all churchly prelates, though he is the superior of none of these.

\*Cf. p. 175, below.

7/8. Anicetus was the first to determine that Easter be celebrated on Sunday. First Pius, then Victor, confirmed this, and their decision prevailed. At first the Easterns resisted this, because from the bidding of St. John, they celebrated on the 14th moon of the first month. From Smyrna Polycarp addressed Anicetus (Note: Greek to Roman), and recognized that he was performing the office of bishop, yet Anicetus could not persuade Polycarp says Eusebius in the Church History. Luther the Corrupter says: "Anicetus yielded to Polycarp." He wished to excommunicate the Easterns resisting Victor, whom Irenaeus warned, not that Victor should have no power over the Easterns. For why should the holy martyr have concerned himself; but to consider the concord of the Church and her peace, he determined that disturbance not arise in the Church.

9. It is wonderful that the heretic leans upon the deed of heretics, for those eastern bishops expelled Athanasius and Paul, who taking refuge with Pope Julius, after the heretics were arraigned and excommunicated, were restored. Here the heretic tumbles down, because Pope Julius more than 1100 years ago had authority over the eastern bishops of Asia and Egypt. \*

It is false that Constantine IV first gave the primacy to the Roman pontiff, when previously he had it from the Gospel with the confirmation of Emperors Constantine, Valentinian, Gratian, Theodosius, Marcian, Basil, and others.

10. Hence it is not inappropriate that the decree of the princes yield to the right of the Apostolic See, in order that the temerity of the rebels may be restrained. Yet the heretic has erred that Constantine IV determined anything in this matter, but he has only remitted the confirmation of the elected Pope, which the Emperor previously was accustomed to do in his own way.

11. None of the holy martyrs withdrew themselves from obedience to Peter or his successors where and when it was necessary. The heretic is mistaken: but if the pope is supreme, it is necessary that all bishops be confirmed by him, for just as it suffices for

\*Add: See our Book on the Papacy.

priests to be confirmed by bishops, so bishops by archbishops, primates or patriarchs. So you understand concerning Ambrose, Augustine, and Nicolas. I believe that because of the pride of the bishops in Germany it came to pass that they shook off the authority of the primate of Magdeburg. And prior things are clear from the eighth council, from the Council of Nicea and others. See Dist. 64 of the Decretals. It is clear that the bishops of Africa were under the Roman pontiff, because from the council of Milevis they wrote to Pope Innocent I, seeking confirmation of that. See Augustine, Epist. 90, 91. The third and fourth Councils of Carthage were confirmed, one by the authority of Pope Zozimus, the other by the authority of Boniface, since he sent Bishop Faustinus thither. Augustine was concerned with them. The Councils under Cyprian in Africa sought approval from Pope Cornelius (Cyprian, Epistles, 1.2; 2.11). Now it was clear that the bishops of Asia, Egypt and Greece were under the Roman Pontiff, because it was through the Roman Pontiff that Athanasius was restored, Chrysostom was restored, Flavian was restored, Appiarus in Africa was restored. For abundant evidence, see our book On the Primacy.\*

36<sup>v</sup>Grat. 1.64  
Fr. 1.247-37<sup>r</sup>

12. It was not necessary for the installation of a bishop to take place directly at the hands of the Roman Pontiff, yet that those churches were subject to the pope, is clear from the fact that he restored bishops ejected from these churches. And today, from Pope Leo X, and from Hadrian VI, Asiatic bishops have received confirmation.

13. How much can heresy claim? When it has nothing solid for itself, it brings forward the utterly wicked ejection of the best of bishops, John Chrysostom, who was ejected through the utterly greedy and wicked Theophilus of Alexandria, with the help of the ungodly Empress Eudoxia.

The injustice committed against this holy man the heretic takes for a lawful act, but remains silent about the fact that he was restored by Pope Innocent, and the negotiation carried on by the Pope

37<sup>v</sup>

\*See note on forged papal decretals in Pseudo-Isidorean Collections: LCC 21.1130 n27 (Calvin Inst. 1559, 4.7.11) including reference to Eck, De primatu Petri (1526)



with Alexander Bishop of Antioch; and the Emperor Arcadius resisting the Pope and Chrysostom, was excommunicated. Go now, heretic, and deny that the bishops of Greece were under the Roman Pontiff! Concerning John of Jerusalem it is clear from St. Jerome that a council had been called at Antioch (for at that time the Bishop of Jerusalem was under that Patriarch, and under the Archbishop of Caesarea) and John was condemned by the synod, in which Epiphanius was of preeminent authority.

38<sup>r</sup> 14. Canon 6 of the Council of Nicea goes as follows: "The ancient custom persisted in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, and the Bishop of Alexandria has authority over all these, seeing that it is a custom like to that of the Roman bishop. Similarly in Antioch and the other provinces his honor is to be kept with each and every Church" [Gratian Decr. 1.65.6: Fr. 1.251] that this passage does not exclude the Roman primacy which the heretic wrongly infers, but that the authority of the three patriarchal churches was then confirmed, for at that time there were only three patriarchal sees, that is, the Roman, the Antiochene, and the Alexandrine. Nay, more strongly through that council the primacy of the Roman pontiff is proved, first because although Nicea was in Asia, yet Ossius of Cordova, presided over the Council in the name of the Pope, and signed first not in his own name as all the remaining bishops, but in the Pope's name.

38<sup>v</sup> Secondly, because it was decided in the Council of Nicea that in case of the deposition of a bishop, appeal could be made from the whole world to the Roman Pontiff. Athanasius leaned on him and obtained restoration; so did Chrysostom. And when the Church of Africa opposed Pope Zozimus in the restoration of Appiarus, once made certain of the matter by the Council of Nicea, the Church acquiesced. Go, now, heretic and rave that the Nicean Council controverts the Pope.

15. On the ordination of bishops, what has this to do with primacy, when today the pope very rarely ordains a bishop or



perchance never, but at the present time three bishops meeting together, ordain and consecrate a bishop? [Decr. 1.64.1, Fr 1.247].

16. Canon 7 of this Council so provides. "For the custom and ancient tradition obtained, that the episcopal office was conferred upon Elias, that he might have the consequence of honor, apart from the rank of metropolitan" [Gratian, Decr. 1.65.7: Fr. 1.251]. This stupid heretic dreams of a primacy attributed to Jerusalem, when as yet primacy was not attributed to it, as it permitted it to be subject to the Metropolitan who was at Caesarea, as Jerome states. Therefore it decreed that Jerusalem was to be honored by ancient tradition, but says nothing about primacy, as Jerusalem was first in time but not in rank.

39<sup>r</sup>

The African Council did not deal with the primacy or with Rome, but the African bishops settled among themselves that their primates (such were the bishops of Carthage, Numidia, Mauritania, etc.) were not to flaunt their glorious titles, and their jurisdiction over others. Canon 6 of the Third African Council deals with this and nothing else. And the mad heretic when he read in the Decretals [1.99.3: Fr. 1.350f] the words of Gratian attached thereto, believed them to be the words of the Council, and they were not. But we will shortly speak of the universal bishop.

18. Gregory and Pelagius did not spurn the primacy of the Roman Church, but approved of it, as we have shown very fully in our treatise On the Primacy of Peter. But they so denied that there could be any universal bishop, because there should be a proper ruler of each Church. Since thus there could be no other bishop, the episcopal honor should both be withdrawn from all and referred back to one alone.

39<sup>v</sup>

That because there was something distinctive in the hierarchical order, the holy fathers rightfully rejected it, except for the dignity of the Roman Church.

19. The Primacy of the Roman Church is proved not only from the decrees of the Pontiffs, but from the Gospel, from the holy martyrs, councils and doctors. But the heretic is mistaken: he believes that there were no other canonical laws except after the appearance of Gratian's Decretum and the Decretals of Gregory IX, despite the fact that there had always been statutes and laws in the Church. For example there was once a Codex of canons a Decretum of Pathasius, Decretum of Burchardus, a Panormia of Ivo, etc. Therefore all things heretical vanish like water bubbles.

40<sup>r</sup>

#### Conclusion.

Let us all receive the authority of the Church shining in the Apostolic See of the Roman See: since Jerome in times difficult for the faith consulted her, writing from Asia Minor to Damasus; Augustine writing from Africa to Innocent and Boniface; and Cyprian writing to Cornelius; Athanasius writing from Egypt to Marcus<sup>1</sup> and Julius;<sup>2</sup> Ambrose writing from Italy, etc.

Now those defending themselves against rebaptizers draw back from their basis, hence they confess many things not written and yet to be adhered to. Zwingli infers from the baptism of Mary the baptism of children.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Pope, AD 336

<sup>2</sup>Julius I, Pope (337-352)

<sup>3</sup>Cf. ch. 30, p. 205, below.

## CHAPTER 4

### THAT THE HERETICS RASHLY OPPOSE THE SCRIPTURES

Besides the above-mentioned things concerning the Church and Councils, let us subjoin these matters.

Axiom 1:<sup>\*</sup> That the heretics wish to receive nothing unless it be expressly proved through the Scriptures.

Therefore the Lutherans will not accept the perpetual virginity of Mary, just as Helvidius, against whom St. Jerome wrote [Against Helvidius: PL 23.193-200]: because it is not proved in the Scriptures, but more Scriptural passages apparently are on Helvidius' side.

The article in the Creed, "He descended into hell," is not expressly proved through the Scriptures. Therefore Luther will not believe that article: for if anyone offers in objection that passage of Ecclesiasticus 24:45: "I shall penetrate all the lower parts of the earth," that shameless fellow will say: "he will penetrate by power not by place." He holds that view in common with many Catholics. If someone were to quote Paul [Eph 4:8] that he ascended, what else is this but that he first descended into the lower parts of the earth? Immediately he will say: the Apostle was speaking of the Son of God descending into the womb of the virgin, who ascended to the heights of heaven. But parts of the earth are lower than heaven and than the elements. Similarly the Lutherans will not observe the Apostles' Creed, the homoousios of Athanasius, person in the Godhead, Anna the Mother of Mary, the Lord's Day. By the Lutherans' judgment Christ would not well have proved the resurrection of bodies against the Saducees [Lk 20:27ff], for to them he did not bring forth the clear text, but because it was said, "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac the God of Jacob [Ex 3:6]; For he is not the God of the dead, but of the living" [Lk 20:37f], and yet they were then living only according to souls, not according to bodies.

41<sup>r</sup>

41<sup>v</sup>

\* 1529 Axioma. 1541: propositio

Augustine to the Priest Casulanus: "In those matters concerning which divine Scripture has established nothing certain, the custom of the people of God and the regulations of the fathers are to be considered as law; and just as the transgressors of the divine laws, so also the despisers of church customs, are to be restrained." He writes in the same vein to the Grammarian Cresconius

42<sup>r</sup> Not only are those things expressly stated in the Scriptures or proved from them to be believed and kept (something the Lutherans are willing to do), but also it is necessary to believe and keep those things Holy Mother Church believes and observes. For not everything has been clearly handed down in the Sacred Scriptures, but very many have been left to the Church to determine (which is illumined and governed by the Holy Spirit, and on this account cannot wander from the path of truth). Hence the Savior said to his disciples [Jn 16:12f]: "I have yet many things to say to you: but you cannot bear them now. But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth." Therefore the Church observes in its rites and ceremonies many things, from the intimate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and the tradition of the Apostles, and of the holy fathers, which even if not expressly stated in the Scriptures, yet it is wicked to depart from them or take exception to them. Indeed these things are most confirmed to them, and on that account are to be enforced and observed by all true evangelical and Pauline Christians (such do the Lutherans falsely boast themselves to be). "Therefore, brethren, stand fast; and hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word, or by our epistle" [2 Thess 2:14].

42<sup>v</sup> "The rest I shall dispose of when I come" [1 Cor 11:34]. Here, speaking of the Sacred Eucharist, he makes clear that he did not write down everything, but when he comes to them, he is going to set forth the remaining unwritten things.

"Having more things to write to you, I would not by paper and ink, for I hope that I shall be with you, and speak face to face, that your joy may be full" [2 Jn v. 12].

"I had many things to write to you, but I would not by ink and pen write to you. But I hope speedily to see you and we will speak mouth to mouth" [3 Jn v. 13f].

Obviously many things both of the Lord's words and his deeds we find omitted by the Evangelists which one reads that the Apostles either supplied by word or expressed by deed, for Paul says so in Acts 20:35: "We ought to remember the word of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive" [Acts 20:35]. These words none of the four Evangelists has written down. Also no one expressed anything about the appearance to more than 500 brothers at the same time [1 Cor 15:6], which Paul describes.

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In ecclesiastical observances, there are some of the sort which it is necessary for all to perform, yet the reason for them is not clear to all. I think it not easy for anyone to discover the reason why we kneel to pray, and why we turn from all regions of heaven to the eastern sector alone to pour out our prayers. Yet the reason for this John of Damascus\*sets forth in the following words: "Because God is light intelligible, and Christ is named the sun of righteousness and the eastern star in the Scriptures, the east is to be devoted to him for worship. For every more excellent and greater good ought to be offered to him, from whom every good is kindly given." [(These things are applied to him in no codex of the Gospel.)]

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Axiom 2: The Lutherans contend that the Scriptures are clear.

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Therefore laymen and crazy old women treat them in a domineering manner.

Peter contradicts this, speaking concerning the Epistle of Paul. "In them are some things difficult to understand, which untutored and unstable men distort, as for example some scriptures, to their own destruction" [2 Pt 3:15f]. Note the difficulty of those scriptures, and how (when Paul was living) they were distorted, just as the Lutherans do today.

\*Fount of Knowledge, 4.12: 1 Jn 1:5; Mal 4:2; Zech 3:8; Lk 1:78.

Jerome to Algasia: "The whole letter of Paul to the Romans is wrapped in too great obscurities."

"But if our Gospel is hidden, it is hidden to those who are lost" [2 Cor 4:3]. If the Holy Scripture is so completely open, it is a wonder why the holy fathers, who read it so frequently, did not understand it for 1200 years, that if it was obscure to Augustine, Jerome, Bernard, Thomas, how will it be open to Lutheran laymen? In Lk 10:35 "Jesus took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said: . . . Whatever you shall spend over and above, I, at my return, will repay you." The two pence are the two testaments, then what the Apostles and doctors spend over and above, God will repay.

44<sup>r</sup>

Axiom 3: Heretics evilly reject any other judge than Scripture.

In the Old Testament not the law but the high priest was judge. "If . . . a hard and doubtful matter . . ." [Dt 17:8]. See above, Chapter 1. "When there shall be a controversy, (the priests) shall stand in my judgment, and judge. . ." [Ez 44:24].

And the Catholics also especially admit Scripture, but we differ from the heretics in our understanding of it; accordingly it is necessary for there to be another judge than Scripture, namely, the Church.

By this example, taken from the modern heretics (who reject any other judge than Scripture) is shown how the Lutherans and Oecolampadians and Zwinglians contend over the sacrament of the Eucharist, as to whether here is truly and spiritually the body and blood of Christ, or only a figure and sign. Who among them will be judge? Who will ever bring them into harmony? Scripture or Church? Apart from these no other judge can be provided. It is not indeed upon Scripture (which each contends to be the judge) that they lay their foundation--all the while in the self-same words of Scripture--and thus they do not admit Scripture as judge against their own doctrine, but make themselves judges over Scripture. Accordingly the Church will be the necessary judge, which believes that, when bread and

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wine have, by the power of Christ's words, been transubstantiated in this sacrament, they are the true body and blood of Christ, under the species of bread and wine.

Ps 132:2 [Vg]: "Like ointment upon the head . . ." etc. So also by Christ the Head were the words transmitted to the Apostles; again, by the Apostles were they poured out upon the garment, even upon all the garment, that is, even to the end of the church which is a seamless robe [Jn 19:23].

45<sup>r</sup>

Even the devil quoted Scripture against Christ [Mt 4:6]: "That he has given his angels charge over you" etc., but a true understanding he did not possess, as Jerome concludes in Against the Luciferians, and the Scriptures consist not in reading as the untutored crowd of the Lutheran heresy now suppose, but in understanding. Jerome, Ibid. Therefore Tertullian powerfully demonstrates in his book, On the Prescription of Heretics: it is wicked for them to be admitted to undertake the citation of the Scriptures. All heretics fled to Scriptures ill understood by them.

Augustine: Arius quotes 42 passages of Scripture in his own support.

The Lutherans receive the Scriptures just as the Jews do the Old Testament, because they insist alone on the literal sense, and those things contrary to them they twist; hence they are inky theologians, according to the shell and the surface. Therefore it is a Jewish practice to impugn the Church by the Scriptures. Luther in his assertions says: to the proud and impious, Scripture will always be occasion for greater blindness: this saying boomerangs on the head of its author and of his followers.

45<sup>v</sup>



"The Lord will render to you for your work, and you will receive a full reward of the Lord God of Israel, to whom you have come. . ." [Ruth 2:12].

"Be comforted and let not your hands be weakened," that is, works, "for there shall be a reward for your work" [2 Chr 15:7].

46<sup>v</sup>

("He who reaps receives wages, and gathers fruit unto life everlasting, that both he who sows, and he who reaps, may rejoice together" [Jn 4:36].)

"Be glad and rejoice, for your reward is very great in heaven" [Mt 5:12]. And again:

"Be glad in that day and rejoice; for behold, your reward is great in heaven" [Lk 6:23]. If reward, therefore, and merit, to whom is reward owed? For these terms are to be interchangeably used in a relative sense, where one cannot be understood without the other.

["Take heed that you do not do your justice before men, to be seen by them. Otherwise you shall not have a reward with your Father, who is in heaven. Therefore when you do. . ." etc. [Mt 6:1f].]

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"Not everyone who says to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven" [Mt 7:21].

"Whoever shall give to drink to one of these little ones a cup of cold water, he shall not lose his reward" [Mt 10:42].

"Call the laborers and pay them their hire" [Mt 20:8], and previously: "I will give you what shall be just" [Mt 20:4].

47<sup>r</sup>

"If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments" [Mt 19:17].

"I hungered and you gave me something to eat" etc. [Mt 25:35]. "Come, blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which

has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world"  
[Mt 25:34].

"And they who have done good things, shall come forth unto the resurrection of life; but they who have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment" [Jn 5:29].

"You are my friends, if you do the things that I command you" [Jn 15:14].

"God will render to every man according to his works"  
[Rom 2:6].

"Glory and honor . . . to everyone who does . . ." [Rom 2:10].

"For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified" [Rom 2:13].

"Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labor" [1 Cor 3:8].

"We must all be manifested before the judgment-seat of our Lord Jesus Christ, that each one may receive the proper things of the body, according as he has done, whether it be good or evil"  
[2 Cor 5:10].

47<sup>v</sup> "For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward . . ."  
[1 Cor 9:17].

" . . . Abounding always in the work of the Lord, knowing that your labor is not in vain in the Lord" [1 Cor 15:58].

"That which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, works for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory" [2 Cor 4:17].

"What things a man shall sow, those also shall he reap"  
[Gal 6:8].

"Whatever you do, do it from the heart, as to the Lord and not to men, knowing that you shall receive of the Lord the reward of inheritance" [Col 3:23f].

"That you may walk worthy of God, in all things pleasing, being fruitful in every good work" [Col 1:10].

"To me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain" [Phil 1:21].  
If gain, therefore merit.

"With fear and trembling work out your salvation" [Phil 2:12].

"God is not unjust, that he should forget your work, and the love which you have shown in his name, you who have ministered to the saints" [Heb 6:10].

48<sup>r</sup>

"And do not forget doing good and sharing, for by such sacrifices God's favor is obtained" [Heb 13:16].

"Look to yourselves, that you lose not the things which you have accomplished, but that you may receive a full reward."  
[2 Jn v. 8] "Little children, let no man deceive you. He who does justice is just, even as he is just" [1 Jn 3:7].

[Note here: works good of their own kind are acceptable to God and deserving of eternal life. This is to be understood concerning living works, that is, those that proceed from the beginning of a spiritual life, which is grace and love. Righteous men, being alive, do such works out of faith working through love [Gal 5:6]. But it is otherwise concerning dead works (because they do not proceed from grace and love) however good they may be of their own nature, such do the impious do, namely, fornicators, adulterers, and such like, works not of grace. (This contradiction according to the Apostle's statement he implies to fall under merit.) "But if by grace, it is not now by works: otherwise grace is no mere grace; [Rom 11:6]. And again: "Not to him who works, the reward is not reckoned reaching to grace, but according to debt," [Rom 4:4], nor are such works meritorious for eternal life. For fornicators and adulterers, thieves and robbers [cf. Eph 5:5] (insofar as they falsely claim to be evangelical and Pauline) do not "have inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God," nor do they follow him. But the Lord will judge them. Nevertheless good works

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\* Not in the edition of 1541.

of this sort although dead, in sinners not blind and hardened, but confessing grace. This is clear concerning the publican, who imploring forgiveness of his sins through humble and devout prayer, went down to his house justified [Lk 18:10ff]. This is clear also concerning the Gentile Cornelius, whose prayer was heard and whose alms were remembered in God's sight. And by his prayer and alms he obtained that he was baptized by Peter sent to him together with his relatives and close friends, with the Holy Spirit also descending in a visible sign upon them.

1532

[Also works of this sort, done outside of love, are effective in obtaining temporal goods, as is clear of midwives, for whom by way of remuneration God has built houses [Ex 1:21], of which see Gregory. Their kindness (that is, of midwives), could be repaid as reward in eternal life, but the guilt of falsehood has received earthly compensation. So speaks Augustine: that by justice and vigorous acts, the Romans merited dominion from God [DCD 5:12, 15]. Besides, such works are valuable to avoid the transgression of a precept: this is clear concerning the honor paid to parents, concerning alms given to a poor man out of enjoined penance, and canonical hours recited by a sinner in the state of mortal sin. They are valuable too to resist the inclination to a misdeed. According to this: "Water quenches a flaming fire, and alms resists sins" [Ecclus 3:33]. And to habituate man to good works, by which it comes to pass that, possessing the habit of doing what is good, yet he does it out of love, who previously did it in the state of mortal guilt. Just as in a like case, works servilely done out of fear of punishment, induce love. Hence Augustine [Enarr. in Ps 127.23] "When through the fear of hell a man restrains himself from sin, the habit of righteousness results, and what was hard begins to be loved, fear begins to be excluded from love, and a chaste fear succeeds, whereby we fear, lest the bridegroom tarry, or go away, lest we lack him." Likewise just as a brush introduces thread, so fear brings in love, fear is diminished,



and conversely. They are valuable, finally, for the relaxation of temporal punishment, or the diminishment of eternal punishment, if they do not induce love. Hence Augustine, in his De Poenitentia, ch. 3: If anyone not having love, having been established in any schism, in order not to deny Christ, suffers tribulations, hunger, persecution, or flames, or beasts or the cross itself, for fear of hell, in no wise are these troubles to be blamed. Indeed, this longsuffering is to be praised. For we cannot say: it were better for him that, by denying Christ, he suffered none of those things which he suffered by confessing him, but future judgment is to be deemed more bearable for him than if by denying Christ he suffered none of them. So what the Apostle says: ". . . if I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not love, it profits me nothing" [1 Cor 13:3] is to be understood to apply to obtaining the kingdom of heaven, not to undergoing the more bearable judgment of the ultimate punishment. So speaks Augustine:<sup>1</sup> But if they induce love, these totally free from hell, and meritoriously lead to eternal glory.]

[Therefore, sinners ought to be advised that without delay they carry out whatsoever their hand can do; they are not to turn aside or draw back from good works (something the Lutherans, haters of all good, do) and especially that they exercise works of piety not toward apostate monks and nuns fornicating and committing adultery under the honest title of marriage, but toward the true Catholic poor, according to the principle: "Give to the merciful and do not support the sinner; benefit the humble and give not to the impious" [Ecclus 12:5f]. Daniel so advised Nebuchadnezzar, saying: "Therefore, O King, let my counsel be acceptable to you, and redeem your sins with alms, and your iniquities with works of mercy to the poor . . ." [Dan 4:24]. So states St. Gregory,<sup>2</sup> whose words are quoted at Decr. 2.33.3.5.6 [Fr. 1.1241]. The whole error of the Lutherans concerning good works proceeds from ignorance of

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<sup>1</sup> De vera et falso poenitentia, a pseudo-Augustinian work.

<sup>2</sup> The passage cited in the Decretals is from Gregory VII (Roman Synod of 1078), dealing with false penance.

this distinction made in, and founded upon, the Scriptures. For they thus argue in substance: Good works are not meritorious of grace; therefore neither of eternal life; therefore they are nothing. If they would recognize themselves as sophists, mockers, deceivers, they would readily see how sophistical this argument is. For they sin under the sway of the sophism of the consequent by arguing from the destruction of the antecedent, to the destruction of the consequent. So also the false Jews (than whom the impious Lutherans are far blinder) argued against Christ: This man does not keep the Sabbath, therefore he is not of God; therefore he is not righteous, but a sinner, having a demon, proving him to be guilty of transgressing the Sabbath [Jn 7; 8; etc].

Proposition 2: The righteous man does not sin in every good work, for a good living work is meritorious, not dead. See Tom 1, Second Homily for Septuagesima Sunday.

1529

["In Jerusalem also Josaphat appointed Levites, and priest and chiefs of the families of Israel, to judge the judgment and the cause of the Lord for the inhabitants thereof. And he charged them, saying: Thus shall you do in the fear of the Lord faithfully, and with a perfect heart. Every cause that shall come to you of your brethren, that dwell in their cities, between kindred and kindred, wherever there is question concerning the law, the commandment, the ceremonies, the justifications, show it to them, that they may not sin against the Lord, and that wrath may not come upon you and your brethren, and so doing you shall not sin" [2 Chr 19:8-10]. "In all these things Job sinned not by his lips, nor spoke any foolish thing against God" [Job 1:22].]

"They who work in me, shall not sin, and they who explain me, shall have life everlasting" [Ecclus 24:30f].

"If a virgin marries, she does not sin" [1 Cor 7:28].

"Bestir yourselves, brothers, that by good works you may make sure your calling and election. For doing these things, you shall not sin at any time. For so an entrance shall be ministered to you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" [2 Pt 1:10f].

48<sup>v</sup>

"Everyone who is born of God, does not commit sin, for his seed abides in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God" [1 Jn 3:9]. Note that he cannot sin, following the inclination of love, according to which he is born of God, because love does not act wrongly.

"These things I write to you, that you may not sin" [1 Jn 2:1]. ". . . from the good works; which they shall behold in you, let them glorify God . . ." [1 Pt 2:12]. ". . . being fruitful in every good work. . ." [Col 1:10]. "Awake, ye just, and sin not" [1 Cor 15:34]. "If your eye is single, not having any part of darkness, your whole (that is, the whole accumulation of your works) shall be lightsome" [Mt 6:22].

Proposition 3: That any faith is empty, because it is without works [James 2:20].

49<sup>r</sup>

"What shall it profit, my brethren, if a man say he has faith, but has not works? Shall faith be able to save him?" [James 2:14]. Later: "So faith also, if it have not works, is dead in itself" [James 2:17]. Later: "But do you want to know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead?" [James 2:20].

Proposition 4: Faith is a work.

"What shall we do, that we may work the works of God? Jesus answered: This is the work of God, that you believe in him whom he has sent" [Jn 6:28f]. And again: "If you are the children of Abraham, do the works of Abraham" [Jn 8:39], but the chief work of Abraham was faith: "Abraham believed God, and it was reputed to him as justice" [Gen 15:6]. Note that faith is reckoned among works.

Proposition 5: It is not enough to believe.

49<sup>v</sup> "Going, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching (not only to believe, but also) to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" [Mt 28:19f].

It was not sufficient for the blind man that he spread clay upon his eyes, but he had to go to the bathing pool of Siloe [Jn 9:6].

"If I should have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing" [1 Cor 13:2]. Through this Augustine On the Trinity, 15:18, proves that faith does not necessarily have love attached to it.

"Therefore, let us work good to all men, especially to those of the household of the faith" [Gal 6:10].

"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my race, I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord the just judge will render to me on that day" [2 Tim 4:7f].

"For unto you it is given for Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him" [Phil 1:29].

50<sup>r</sup> Proposition 6: Love is better and more perfect than faith.

"Now there remained faith, hope, and love, . . . but the greatest of these is love" [1 Cor 13:13].

Love remains in blessedness, and is perfected; faith not.

"Love never falls away" [1 Cor 13:8]. "When that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away" [1 Cor 13:10].

The way of love is more eminent than the way of faith. Hence Paul, about to speak of love, says: "And I show to you yet a more excellent way" [1 Cor 12:31].

He also says: "The end of the commandment is love"  
[1 Tim 1:5].

Christ, asked concerning the great commandment, answered concerning love, which is the greatest and first commandment [Mt 22:36].

#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. "The just man lives by faith" [Rom 1:17]: therefore not by works.<sup>1</sup>

2. "He who believes in the Son of God is not condemned" [1 Jn 5:10].

3. You believe because I can do this for you: according to your faith let it be done to you [Mt 9:28].<sup>2</sup>

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4. "Abraham believed God, and it was reputed to him as righteousness" [Gen 15:6].<sup>3</sup>

5. "He who hears my words and believes him who sent me, has eternal life" [Jn 5:24].

6. "Your faith has made you whole" [Mt 9:22]; works are of hypocrites.

7. Love is the fruit of faith. Therefore faith alone suffices [Aug., On Faith and Works].<sup>4</sup>

8. Paul in his Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians, contends that man is justified through faith without works.<sup>5</sup>

#### Reply of the Catholics.

What Augustine says is an undisputed fact: this heresy (it is not new, but very ancient) has arisen from Paul's words badly understood.

1. We admit that the just man lives by faith, because faith is the foundation of the spiritual edifice, for it is the substance of things hoped for. But what the heretic assumes from faith itself, lacerates and falsifies the text, because nowhere does it say that the just man lives by faith alone.

51<sup>r</sup>

2. To believe in God with the use of Scripture, includes cleaving to God through love, according to Augustine [In 1 Jn. Tr. 10]. The younger theologians call this "formed faith." It

is clear from St. Paul: "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision avails anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith that works by love" [Gal 5:6]. Note: Paul does not say any faith whatsoever suffices, but that faith which works by love.

3. It is clear from the second point: although even unformed faith could obtain something of temporal advantage, as for example the Romans by their virtues obtained a great dignity, according to Augustine [DCD, 5:15].

51<sup>v</sup> And "by faith Rahab the harlot perished not (as the Apostle states) with the unbelievers, receiving the spies with peace" [Heb 11:31]. So also by her unformed faith accompanied by humble and devout prayer, she can through grace obtain justification for her sins.

"For . . . to him who believes in him who justifies the ungodly, his faith is reputed for righteousness" [Rom 4:5]. "For he who comes to God, must believe that he is, for without faith it is impossible to please God" [Heb 11:6].

4. St. James answers: "Was not Abraham our father justified by works, offering up Isaac his son upon the altar? Do you see that faith cooperated with his works; and by works faith was made perfect?" [James 2:21f]. Further on: "Do you see that by works a man is justified; and not by faith only?" [James 2:24].

Response likewise to the Second Point.

5/6. Similarly, the false charge that works produce hypocrisy is why Christ said: "So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven" [Mt 5:16].

52<sup>r</sup> And St. Peter in his canonical epistle urges the faithful in these words: "Having your conversation good among the Gentiles: that whereas they speak against you as evildoers, they may, by the good works, which they shall behold in you, glorify God. . ." etc. [1 Pt 2:12].

7. He assumes this falsely, because love is a fruit of the Spirit, not of faith, and similarly faith is a fruit of the Spirit.



Paul says: "But the fruit of the Spirit is, love, joy, peace, patience" etc., "faith, modesty" [Gal 5:22f].

Nevertheless all Lutherans compelled by the arguments of the faithful, begin to distinguish concerning faith. True formed faith they call in our vernacular: "den libereichen volltatigen Glauben," that is, faith operative of good, which is rich in love and works; others call it "historical faith." Just as Oecolampadius (demegoria)<sup>1</sup> posits some works as living and some as dead.

Objections of the Lutherans to the Second Proposition.

1. "We are all become as one unclean, and all our justices as the rag of a menstruous woman" [Is 64:6]. 52<sup>v</sup>

2. "There is not a just man on earth who does good and does not sin" [Eccl 7:21].<sup>2</sup>

3. "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight no man living shall be justified" [Ps 142:2].

4. "The evil I would not do, I do; the good I would do, I do not" etc. [Rom 7:19]. "But I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind" etc. [Rom 7:23].

Reply of the Catholics.

1. Jerome answers: the prophet is speaking of the comparison of the righteousness of the law, and of the righteousness of the Gospel, for compared with the Gospel, legal purity is uncleanness. Augustine says [On the Perfection of Righteousness]: "our righteousness compared with divine righteousness is not righteousness, just as Christ says: "'No one is good but God alone' [Lk 18:19], 53<sup>r</sup> because our goodness, compared to God, is not goodness."

2. The Hebrew text [of Eccl 7:21]<sup>3</sup> reads: "Will sin" just as the Septuagint reads; but by this he does not satisfy, for faciet is also future tense, according to the reading of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> In a public speech ?

<sup>2</sup> Luther, Explanation of the Articles Debated at Leipzig, WA 2.416. PE 3.98-102

<sup>3</sup> The text of 1529 fol. D5<sup>v</sup> read: In the Hebrew there is not the present tense, peccat, but the future, peccabit, and St. Augustine accordingly so states, just as he has said: "There is no just man who never will sin." "For a just man falls seven times in a day and rises again." Prov. 24: 16, yet he does not sin in every good work.

Jerome says [Against Jovinian, 1: ]; and Augustine [On the Forgivenness of Sins, 2:29]. Now the context does not have "who does well," as the Lutherans object; but, "who does good." It is one thing to do good, but another to do well.

3. Augustine answers, setting forth the quoted authority: "'Enter not into judgment with thy servant' [Ps 142:2]. 'Do not,' he says, 'judge me according to thyself who art without sin, for in thy sight not any living being is justified.' That this is said concerning this life, is understood without a difficult question. And his statement, will not be justified, he refers to that perfection of righteousness, which is not in this life." So speaks Augustine. David prayed to be judged according to godly righteousness: "Judge me, O Lord, [Ps 7:9; 25:1], but not according to rigid righteousness." Augustine, Confessions 9 [13].

53<sup>v</sup>

4. The Apostle himself answers in the following chapter [Rom 8:1f]: "There is therefore now no condemnation (that is, sin or guilt) in those who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not according to the flesh. For the law of the Spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, has delivered me from the law of sin and of death." In those who believe in Christ, who with their mind serve the law of God, therefore, concupiscence of the flesh, "fighting against the law of my mind" [Rom 7:23] cannot be a sin, which nevertheless the Apostle calls a sin, because it is caused by sin, and is the penalty of sin. And just as Christ was made sin for us, "because he bore our sins (that is, the penalties due for our sins) in his body on the cross" [1 Pt 2:24].

CHAPTER 6  
CONCERNING CONFIRMATION<sup>1</sup>

54<sup>r</sup>

Axiom 1: Confirmation is a Sacrament.

Luther admits baptism to be a sacrament, but denies confirmation.

Proof by reason: But because in confirmation there is a sensible sign, having the infallible assistance of the grace of the Holy Spirit, it is accordingly a sacrament.

Proof by authorities: "When the Apostles, who were in Jerusalem, had heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, they sent to them Peter and John, who when they had come, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Spirit. For he had not yet come upon any of them; but they were only baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then they laid their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Spirit" [Acts 8:14-17]. Concerning the Ephesians: "Having heard these things, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came upon them" [Acts 19:5f].<sup>2</sup> Note that after baptism, there was a sensible sign, namely the laying on of hands, whereby the grace of the Holy Spirit was conferred, and thus was a sacrament.

54<sup>v</sup>

Axiom 2: And the fact that only the bishops today confirm, is confirmed by this text: Philip the Deacon did not confirm the Samaritans; but the Apostles Peter and John did so [Acts 8:16f].<sup>3</sup> And it is not believable that any gift of grace pertaining to the consummation of the elect which was once in the Church, is now lacking.

Dionysius the Areopagite recounts the mysteries of this [Ecclesiastical Hierarchies, ch. 4]<sup>4</sup> and says that it was called by the Apostles consecration (teleten) by anointing.

55<sup>r</sup>

Melchiades, Pope and Martyr: "In baptism we are regenerated to life, after baptism we are confirmed for the fray; in baptism we are cleansed, after baptism we are strengthened." [Gratian Decr. 3.5.2: Fr. 1.1413, from Pseudo-Isidore, no. 6: Hinschius, p. 245.]

The Council of Orleans: "In order that those of full age, having fasted, may come to confirmation, that they may be admonished previously to make confession, that, cleansed, they may deserve to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, and because there never will be a Christian, unless he be anointed in episcopal confirmation." On this and other matters, see De Consecratione, dist. 5 [Gratian, Decr. 3.5.6: Fr. 1.1414.]

Jerome: "The bishop, if he lays on his hand, lays it upon those who have been baptized into the right faith, who already believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three persons and one substance," etc. Further on: But if at this point you may ask, why, baptized in the Church, does he not receive the Holy Spirit except by the hands of the bishop? Learn that this observance has come down from that authority, because after the Lord's ascension the Holy Spirit descended to the Apostles, and in many places we find the same commonly practiced. [Jerome, Against the Luciferians, 8f: PL 23.163f.]

[When the heretics object that Christ did not institute this sacrament, it must be said that Christ instituted it as a sacrament not indeed by showing it forth, but by promising it [Lk 24:49]: "But stay in the city until you are invested with power from above." And Jn 16:7: "If I do not go away, the Paraclete will not come to you. If however I shall go away I shall send him to you." And this is for the reason that in this holy thing is given the fulness of the Holy Spirit which was not to be given before Christ's resurrection and ascension, according to the words of John.

Not yet was the Holy Spirit given, for Jesus was not yet glorified.]

When Christ laid his hands on the children [Mk 10:16] he either instituted or hinted at, this sacrament. See Tome 4, Homily 25.\*

\*Cf. Edition of 1529, fol. D 7<sup>r</sup>, lines 3-12.

CHAPTER 7  
CONCERNING THE SACRAMENT OF ORDER<sup>1</sup>

They deny order to be a sacrament. From the Bible let order be taught, and the fact that it confers grace with a sensible sign.

"Jesus, going up into a mountain, called to himself whom he himself wanted, and they came to him. And he made that twelve should be with him, and that he might send them to preach" [Mk 3:13f].

"After these things the Lord appointed also seventy-two others; and he sent them two by two before his face . . ." [Lk 10:1]. 56<sup>r</sup>

"Taking the bread, he gave thanks and broke it, and gave it to them saying: This is my body, which is given for you; do this in memory of me" [Lk 22:19].<sup>2</sup>

Jesus said to the Apostles: "Even as the Father sent me, I also send you. When he had said these things, he breathed upon them, and said to them: Receive the Holy Spirit. Those whose sins you forgive, are forgiven them; those whose sins you retain, have been retained" [Jn 20:21-23].

"You shall be called priests of the Lord, men shall speak of you as ministers of our God."\* [Is 61:6]: to speak of the time of the Messiah.

The Holy Spirit said: "Separate for me Saul and Barnabas, for the work whereunto I have taken them. Then they, fasting and praying, and laying their hands upon them, sent them away" [Acts 13:2f].

"Neglect not the grace that is in you, which was given you by prophecy, with laying on of the hands of the presbyters . . . Exercise yourself in these matters [1 Tim 4:14f]. 56<sup>v</sup>

"Do not lightly lay hands upon any man, nor be partaker of other men's sins" [1 Tim 5:22].

"Let the presbyters who rule well, be esteemed worthy of double honor . . ." [1 Tim 5:17].

\*Text: olei

"For this cause I left you in Crete, that you should ordain presbyters in every city. . ." [Tit 1:5].

"Let those who are of this sort be esteemed" [Phil 2:29].

"We beseech you, brothers, to know those who labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, that you esteem them most highly" [1 Thess 5:12].

1529 ["Every high priest, taken from among men, is ordained for men in the things that pertain to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins" [Heb 5:1].

"Feed the flock of God which is among you" [1 Pt 5:2]. And later: "And when the prince of pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never fading crown of glory" [1 Pt 5:4].

57<sup>r</sup> "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Spirit has placed you bishops, to rule the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood [Acts 20:28].

Note here that we read that deacons of the tables and of widows were appointed by the Apostles. Among these one also reads that Stephen [Acts 6:2ff] and Philip [Acts 8:5ff], who converted the Samaritans, preached. Moreover, the Apostle Paul links the deacons of the altar who are ordained to pray and preach to the bishops when he says: "To all the saints in Christ Jesus, who are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons" [Phil 1:1], and having described the bishop to Timothy, he describes of what sort the deacon ought to be [1 Tim 3:8-10]. Here you have in the Apostle a clear distinction between bishops and deacons. The distinction therefore of orders and ministers in the Church, has a solid foundation in the Holy Scriptures, concerning which see Tome 4  
1529 Hom 63. [On this see Decr. 1.21.1: Fr. 1.67; and Peter Lombard, Sent., 4.24.10.]

57<sup>v</sup> It is clear that there were twelve Apostles and seventy-two disciples. The former were succeeded by bishops; the latter by



priests (as Bede teaches). The Apostles were baptized, but the priests not, except when he made them priests in the Supper, giving them the power to consecrate the true body of Christ, and after his resurrection, to absolve Christ's mystical body. And the sensible sign was in the laying on of hands, and it conferred grace. Why then is it rejected by Luther from among the sacraments? And that it was not the office of anyone of the people, is clear from statements of the prophets.

"I did not send prophets, yet they ran: I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied. If they had stood in my counsel, and had made my words known to my people, I should have turned them from their evil way, and from their very wicked thoughts" [Jer 23:21f]. Such are the heretics who, if they stood in God's counsel, God would have illumined them.

Concerning Phineas: "Behold I give him the peace of my covenant . . . and the covenant of the priesthood forever shall be both to him and his seed . . ." [Num 25:12].

58<sup>r</sup>

"My covenant was with Levi (says the Lord of hosts). My covenant was with him of life and peace, and I gave him fear," etc. [Mal 2:4f]. "The law of truth was in his mouth; iniquity was not found on his lips . . ." [Mal 2:6] " . . . the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth, because he is the angel of the Lord of hosts" [Mal 2:7]. Note that the priestly covenant was with Levi, not with another tribe.

"Neither does any man take the honor to himself, but he that is called by God, as Aaron was" [Heb 5:4]. But one reads that not one of the people was called to the priesthood. "The Lord says: Aaron . . . and his sons . . . you shall anoint and sanctify, that they may carry out the priestly office for me" [Ex 29:41].

We read that the Lord commanded the same thing: when the camp was to be removed, the sons of Caath were to carry the things wrapped up by Aaron and his sons, and not touch them lest they die [Num 4:15]. Hence Dathan, Chore, and Abiron, usurping for themselves

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the priestly office (just as the Lutheran laity do today), were swallowed up by the earth, and they went down alive into hell, and the two hundred and fifty men who sided with them were consumed by fire" [Num 16:30, 33, 35].

Thus Oza, since beyond the condition of his lot, he put his hand to the Ark of God lest it fall, was stricken by the Lord with sudden death (2 K 6:6f).

59<sup>r</sup> Likewise, King Osiah, when he usurped the priestly office (that is, to burn incense upon the altar of incense), and, followed by Azariah and the rest of the priests, did not desist, he was stricken on the forehead with leprosy, and remained a leper unto the day of his death [2 Ch 26:16-21]. Also the drunken king Balthazar, drinking from gold and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had carried off from the Temple of God which is in Jerusalem, saw a hand writing on the wall, Mene, Tekel, Phares; on the same night he was slain and Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom [Dan 5:2-31].

Hence by canonical sanctifications it is most justly and holily forbidden to laymen to handle sacred things, such as the cup, the corporal, the consecrated host, and various vestments, by Decr. 1.23.25 [Friedburg, 1.86] and 3.1.41 [Fr. 1.1304f]. Therefore sacred things of this sort ought not to be touched or offered, except by consecrated men, lest there come the vengeance which struck king Balthazar when he transgressed upon this.

59<sup>v</sup> Dionysius, St. Paul's disciple, On the Heavenly Hierarchies, 5, follows the rite of the Apostles in consecrating bishops, presbyters, and deacons.

Ignatius the disciple of St. John, To the Trallians, extols the dignity of the bishops, presbyters, and deacons. He teaches the same in his Epistle to the Smyrneans. And in To the Antiochenes\* he says: "I greet your holy presbyter, I greet your holy deacons, I greet your subdeacons, readers, singers, doorkeepers, workers, exorcists and confessors."

\* A pseudonymous work.

Cyprian, Epist. 1:3, at the beginning, mentions the acolyte.

Note that at the time of the Apostles all these orders existed.

Jerome rehearses all the orders in his Letter to Rusticus Bishop of Narbonne. [Gratian Decr. 1.93.23: Fr. 1.326] <sup>1</sup>

#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. All Christians are priests and by baptism anointed as priests.

60<sup>r</sup>

2. "You are a chosen people, a royal priesthood" [1 Pt 2:9].

3. "Jesus Christ has loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and has made us a kingdom, and priests to God and to his Father" [Rev 1:5f; cf 5:10].

4. "In one Spirit were we all baptized into one body . . . and in one Spirit we have all been made to drink" [1 Cor 12:13]. It follows that we are all equally priests. Chrysostom and Jerome speak similarly. <sup>2</sup>

5. "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing to God, your reasonable service" [Rom 12:1]. Laymen can also do this.

#### Reply of the Catholics.

Tertullian thirteen hundred years ago taught that those Lutheran ordinations were customary among the heretics, for they make laymen out of priests and enjoin sacerdotal functions upon laymen. Luther presumes that others do not make priests, as did Pharaoh and the Gentiles, and just as Scripture recounts concerning Jeroboam who anew established priests from the people, and forbade the peoples' going up to Jerusalem [3 K 13:28], so does Luther forbid going up to Rome.

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1. It is clear that all the faithful are priests,\*just as they are kings, that is spiritually, because God reigns in them through freely given love and they, through the anointing of the

<sup>1</sup> Friedberg notes: "This letter or booklet on the seven orders of the Church is evidently spurious." [Decr. 1.95.6 (Fr.1:333f)]

<sup>2</sup> For Obj. 1-4, see Luther, Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (1520), PE 2.66.

Holy Spirit rule the forces of the soul, and their senses, and besides these needy kings there are also outward Kings and Presidents in the Church. Thus all the faithful, because they offer to God faith and prayers, etc., are spiritual priests, and that priesthood does not lack ceremonies, but besides this inner priesthood, there is one outward priesthood attached in the Church to certain persons. Take the example: each believer is the temple of God. Paul says: "The temple of God is holy, which you are" [1 Cor 3:17], but besides this temple, is the outward temple attached to a certain place, in which place the faithful gather.

61<sup>r</sup>

2. You have been hardened by the custom of the heretics; now you will make even all Jews into priests, because it is said to the Jews: "If you will hear my voice, and keep my covenant, you shall be my peculiar possession above all people, and a priestly kingdom and a holy nation" [Ex 19:5f]. These words were spoken to the whole of Israel, that they were kings and priests, in the sense just mentioned. [Since therefore St. Peter took authority derived from this passage, it follows that same thing that was said of the Jews is said of the Christians.]

1529

Hence St. Augustine explains Rev 20:6 [DCD 20:10]: But these will be priests of God and Christ, and they will reign with him for a thousand years. He says: This was not spoken of bishops and priests alone, who are now properly called priests in the Church, but just as we speak of all Christians on account of the mystical anointing, so do we speak of all priests, since they are members of the one priest. Of them the Apostle Peter says: A holy people, a royal priesthood, etc. [1 Pt 2:9]. And Jerome, Against the Luciferians, who received a lay sinner who confessed he had erred, but not a bishop, unless he gave up the priesthood. Therefore, he says, "let a layman lay down the priesthood of a layman, that is, baptism (note: lay priesthood)." And further on: "Without anointing and its authority neither presbyter nor deacon has the right to baptize. This frequently (if necessity demands it) we know is also permitted to laymen." So speaks Jerome.

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You have then a very great difference between priest and priesthood, between layman and hierarchy. Therefore the Lutherans, deceived by the sophistry of this equivocation, sin, not understanding how in Holy Scripture, the names "priest" and "priesthood" are variously ascribed to those who have been selected from the people for that office, to pray and sacrifice for their own and the people's sins, and to the others over whom they are placed, for whom they sacrifice and pray.

3. Let there be a similar statement on the third point.<sup>1</sup>

The heretics twist this passage, for even if we are all one body in Christ, how does he so stupidly infer, therefore we are all hands, or are all feet, when even in the members themselves there is a difference? Therefore alongside the unity of the Church stands the difference among the members.

62<sup>f</sup>

4. We confess all Christians, even laymen, can offer spiritual oblations and thus can be mystical priests, erecting themselves an altar of affections toward God, but it does not logically follow that they are on that account external, hierarchical<sup>2</sup> priests.

<sup>1</sup> 1529: second

<sup>2</sup> The word hierarchical was added after 1541: cf. ed. of 1572.

CHAPTER 8  
ON CONFESSION<sup>1</sup>

That Confession is necessary for the sacrament of penitence, and is itself enjoined by divine law.

62<sup>v</sup> Christ said to Peter: "To you I shall give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever you bind on earth, will be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you loose on earth, will be loosed in heaven" [Mt 16:19]. These keys, moreover, are two: of knowledge and of power.<sup>2</sup> The key of knowledge is the faculty of discerning between one leper and another. Likewise between a leper and a non-leper; that is, between one sin and another, and between sin and non-sin. But the key of power is the faculty of loosing and binding. For after the cognizance of the case in the forum of penitential judgment between the confessor and the confessant, which is done through the key of knowledge, there remains to hand down judgment in the case, which is to loose or to bind, and this is done through the key of power. Therefore to deny that confession has been commanded by Christ, is to deny that the power of the keys has been passed on by Christ--something manifestly against the Gospel of Christ.

63<sup>r</sup> "Whatever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven and whatever you shall loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven" [Mt 18:18]. "He breathed on them, saying: Receive the Holy Spirit. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained"

1529 [Jn 20:22f]. [From the last part of this authority, again, it is clear that confession is of divine right, just as has been commanded by Christ in this passage. For to retain sins is not else than not to forgive them. Therefore the sense of Christ's words is: whose sins the priest shall retain, that is not loose, are retained, that is are not forgiven in heaven. When therefore any-one is by divine right held to pay for his sins it clearly follows



that by God's command that person is obligated to confess his sins to the priests.]

The twofold power of loosing and forgiving,<sup>1</sup> which he ought to use, the priest would not know how to use, unless it cleaned him of misdeeds. Therefore he put first "Receive the Holy Spirit," as if to say: "By the direction of the Holy Spirit, may you loose or retain sins on behalf of the one confessing."

"Confess your sins one to another, and pray for one another, that you may be saved" [James 5:16]. Here James as God's herald, announced to men God's commandment concerning the confessing of sins, and it is to be understood with precision. [Unless you confess, you will not be saved. Therefore confession is commanded by divine right, but when it is carried out in shepherding individual souls, it is commanded by human ecclesiastical right. For Christ left his commandments to the Church, with the Holy Spirit as the director, to be determined at a particular time.] 1529

Besides, the Confession is considered to have been pre-figured and done to the Apostles: "Men were baptized in the Jordan by John confessing their sins" [Mt 3:6]. 63<sup>v</sup>

[Christ said to the cleansed leper: "Go, show yourself to the priests, and offer the gift which Moses commanded as a testimony to them" [Mt 8:4]. He said to the ten leprous men: "Go, show yourselves to the priests" [Lk 17:14], who, although they were not priests of the New Testament, yet in them the New Testament priesthood was figured. When Lazarus was raised, Jesus said: "Loose him and let him go" [Jn 11:44].<sup>2</sup> 1529

"Many of the believers came, confessing and declaring their deeds" [Acts 19:18].

"Be not without fear about sin forgiven, and add not sin upon sin" [Ecclus 5:5].

And it is clear that these statements on confession are plainly received, for the practice of the Church best interprets the Scriptures.

"If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity" [1 Jn 1:9].

"He who hides his sins, shall not prosper; but he who shall confess them, shall obtain mercy" [Prov 28:13].

Dionysius, Epist. to Demophilus, censured him because, in contravention to the order of discipline, he threw out a sinner prostrating himself before a priest, when he was reverently confessing that he had come to seek a remedy for his sins.

Origen: "Now pay attention: You ought more diligently to confess your sin; select previously the physician to whom you ought to explain the cause of your sluggishness, who knows how to be infirm with the infirm, etc., that finally, if he tells you anything, if he gives you any advice, you may do and follow it."

[Later:] "If he foresees your sluggishness to be of the kind that ought to be exposed in the assembly of the whole church and healed, from this perchance also others could be edified, and you yourself readily healed. This is to be tended to with much deliberation and sufficient counsel of that skilled physician." All these statements prove auricular confession.

Basil, On the Education of the Monks: "It seems necessary for those to whom is entrusted the dispensing of the mysteries, to confess their sins."

Jerome [Epist. 41, 42],\*writing against the heretic Montanus, asserts: "This was the impious heresy of the Montanists, that they are ashamed to confess their admitted sins before a priest." Jerome, On Ecclesiasticus, Ch. 10, says: If the Serpent Devil fixes his back teeth (as the proverb has it) on anyone, and with no one aware, kills the man with the wicked poison of sin, if the one who has been stricken with the mortal wound by the poisonous serpent passes over it in silence, and does not do penance, nor wishes to confess his wound to his brother and master, the master who has a

\*To Marcella

tongue for healing, cannot easily help him. For if a sick man is ashamed to confess his wound to a physician, then the medicine does not cure what the physician is ignorant of."

Cyril, On Leviticus, writes: There are seven steps in forgiveness. Among other things he says: There is as yet in the seventh, although hard and toilsome, through repentance, forgiveness of sins, when the sinner washes his bed with tears [Ps 6:6], and his tears become for him bread night and day [Ps 41:3], when he is not ashamed to point out his sin to the Lord's priest, and to seek a remedy, according to him who says: "I have said, I will declare my unrighteousness against me, and thou hast forgiven the impiety of my sin" [Ps 31:5]. In this is fulfilled what the Apostle James says: "If any man among you is sick, let him call in the presbyters of the Church" [James 5:14] etc.

65<sup>r</sup>

In a figure of this thing<sup>1</sup> Christ said to the cleansed leper "Go, show yourself to the priest, and offer the gift prescribed by Moses; he similarly enjoined the ten lepers" [Mt 8:4; Lk 17:12]. To Lazarus revived he said: "Loose him and let him go" [Jn 11:44]. See On Repentance, Book 2.\*

#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. In Jn 20:23 nothing is enjoined concerning confession, but only to priests, that they may absolve.<sup>2</sup>

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2. James 5 speaks of brotherly confession, for he does not say "Confess to a priest" but "to one another" [James 5:16].<sup>3</sup>

3. Jesus did not say to the woman taken in adultery: "Go and confess to a priest," but "Go and sin no more" [Jn 8:11]; thus concerning Mary Magdalene [cf Lk 7:37ff].<sup>4</sup>

4. Ambrose [Expos. Lk. 10:88] said: "I read Peter's tears, I do not read confession." [cf Gratian Decr. 2.33.31.1: Fr. 1.1159]<sup>5</sup>

5. In the Tripartite History [9:35] it is related that confession was abrogated under Nectarius Bishop of Constantinople.<sup>6</sup>

\*See note at end of Chapter.

Response of the Catholics.

1. Since at John 20:23 that greatest power is known to have been handed on to the priests, by the teaching office of the Holy Spirit the Church has learned the use of that power from the Apostles themselves. And, as Bernard says, it sufficed to show a physician to a sick man, who if he wants to become healthy, will seek a physician.

2. It is indeed true that James did not determine with precision to whom one should make confession, for already Christ had expressed absolving sinners; therefore it was sufficient for James to express what was necessary for absolution, namely confession, not precisely indicating the judge.

3. Not yet did the power of loosing exist in the Church, for the reason that confession had not yet been instituted. The adulteress and Mary Magdalene were not held to confession. Now those things which were done with a special privilege are in consequence not to be treated according to the common theory.

4. One responds similarly, although the argument is not read, and is even laughed at by children. He is speaking concerning the confession of public repentance, not the private confession of sins. See at greater length our book, On Confession.\*

\*John Eck, De Poenitentia et Confessione secreta semper in Ecclesia Dei observata, Contra Lutherum, Libri II, 1533.

CHAPTER 9  
ON SATISFACTION\*

66<sup>v</sup>

[Whereby he proves axioms.]

1532

Axiom 1: After guilt has been forgiven through contrition  
and absolution, the penitent ought to make satisfaction for penalty.\*\*

Adam doubtless was repentant after guilt, yet at that point he was not threatened with a penalty by God. "In whatever day you shall eat of it, you shall die the death" [Gen 2:17]. Indeed after his transgression of the divine commandment, God added over and above the threatened penalty of death something else, saying to Adam: "Because you have hearkened to the voice of your wife and have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you that you should not eat, cursed is the earth in your work; with labor and toil shall you eat thereof all the days of your life. Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you; and you shall eat the herbs of the earth. In the sweat of your face shall you eat bread until you return to earth out of which you were taken, for dust you are, and into dust you shall return" [Gen 3:17-19]. "To the woman also he said: I will multiply your sorrow and your conception; in sorrow shall you bring forth children, and you shall be under your husband's power," [Gen 3:16] etc. And just as all of us have sinned in Adam so all of us die in him [cf Rom 5:12], also with the guilt of original sin, for which death and the other penalties were inflicted, remitted in baptism.

67<sup>r</sup>

"David, after having committed adultery and murder, repentant, said to Nathan: 'I have sinned against the Lord.' And Nathan said to him: 'The Lord also has put away your sin'" [2 K 12:13]. Now sin is put away, not in order to put away guilt, but for penalty.\*\*\*

\*Chapter added 1532 (fol E1<sup>r</sup> - E4<sup>r</sup>).

\*\*Axiom altered in 1541 ed.

\*\*\*Condensed and altered 1541.

This is more fully explained by Gregory [Eucherius, Comm. II K., c. 8; cf. Gregory, Moralia, 9.27] and Augustine [De Pecc. Mer. et Remiss., 2.34] [Gratian, Decr. 2.33.3.1.82, 83; Friedberg, 1.1182].

67<sup>v</sup> And there are many other examples, which point out and prove the same thing: Miriam, Moses' sister, after her guilt in murmuring against Moses was forgiven, was stricken with leprosy; nor on that very spot when Moses prayed to the Lord for her that she might be healed, was she cleansed, but when the Lord commanded that for seven days, as a penalty for her sin, she be excluded from the camp, for that time the leprosy remained [Num 12:10-15].

68<sup>r</sup> God foretold that Moses and Aaron would not enter or lead the Israelite people into the promised land, on account of the sin of disbelief at the water of contradiction [Num 20:24] although doubtless this sin was forgiven these holy men. Joseph's brothers confessed that they had justly suffered for their misdeed committed against their brother, "saying among themselves: We have deservedly suffered, because we have sinned against our brother," etc. [Gen 42:21]. Eli, because he reprov'd the sins of his sons less than he ought, "fell from his stool backwards and broke his neck, and died" [1 Kings 4:18]. David's guilt, incurred by taking a census of the people, although forgiven him by the mercy of God for which he prayed, was attended by a very savage pestilence. He, being penitent, and commanded by the prophet, Gad, to make satisfaction, erected an altar and made an offering of fifty shekels [2 K 24:10ff; cf 1 Chr 21:7ff].

The Ninevites fasted and covered themselves with sackcloth, etc. [Jonah 3:5].

"Ahab . . . fasted, covered himself with goat's hair, slept in sackcloth, walked with his head bowed down and placated the Lord" [3 K 21:27].

"If that nation shall repent of their evil, I also will repent of the evil that I have thought to do to them" [Jer 18:8].



"According to the measure of the sin shall the measure also of the stripes be" [Deut 25:2].

"As much as she has glorified herself and lived in delicacies, so much torment and sorrow give to her" [Rev 18:7].

"Be not without fear about sin forgiven and say not: The mercy of the Lord is great, he will have mercy on the multitude of my sins" [Ecclus 5:5f].

Christ said to the cured paralytic who had been in his infirmity for thirty-eight years: "Behold, you have been made whole. Now sin no more, lest anything worse come upon you" [Jn 5:14]. In this Jesus manifestly hints that this infirmity lasting so many years was inflicted as a penalty for a sin long ago (something by no means incredible) wiped out through the patience of the infirm man and the mercy of God. See Tome 4, Hom. 49, and On Repentance, Book 3.

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Axiom 2: Works of Satisfaction, pure prayer, fasting, alms, [and the restitution which is] enjoined upon the confessant, pertain to the sacrament of penance: these one manifestly comes upon from the Holy Scriptures.

1532

In Leviticus [c. 4, 5, 6] the Lord commands various sacrifices to be offered for the various sins of priest, leader and people.

"Turn to me with your whole heart, in fasting and weeping" [Joel 2:12]. Daniel advised Nebuchadnezzar: "Make recompense for your sins with alms, and your iniquities with merciful acts toward the poor" [Dan 4:24].

69<sup>r</sup>

The Ninevites repentant at the preaching of Jonah, " . . . putting on sackcloth, fasted together with their animals, and praying, cried out to the Lord . . . And God saw their works . . . and had mercy upon them" [Jonah 5:5, 10]. Our Savior Christ, praising

them, prefers them to the unrepentant Jews, saying: "The men of Nineveh shall rise in the judgment with this generation, (that is, of those obstinate ones not making satisfaction for their sins) and shall condemn it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah . . ." [Lk 11:32].

John the Baptist urged the people saying: "Bring forth fruits worthy of penance" [Lk 3:8]. Christ upbraided the cities in which very many miracles were done because they had not repented: "Woe to you, Corozaim Woe to you Bethsaida, for if in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in you they had long ago done penance in sackcloth and ashes" [Mt 11:21].

"Unless you do penance, you shall all likewise perish," just as "those eighteen upon whom the tower fell in Siloe and killed them" [Lk 13:4f]. "In all things let us exhibit ourselves as the ministers of God, in much fasting," etc. [2 Cor 6:4]. Therefore it is clear that satisfaction is truly necessary for the penitent. [This also is effectively proved by the same scriptures by which Luther in vain tries to disprove it.]

#### The Objections of Luther.<sup>1</sup>

1. First, John the Baptist, sent to preach repentance, taught only the observance of God's commandments, saying: "Do nothing more than that which is appointed you" [Lk 3:13], making no mention of satisfaction.

2. The Lord says through Ezekiel: "If the impious be converted from his impiety, and do judgment and justice, living he shall live, and shall not die" [Ez 18:21]. Note: he imposes nothing but judgment and justice, etc.

3. Micah says: "I will show you, O man, what is good, and what the Lord requires of you: Verily, to do judgment, and to love mercy, and to walk carefully with your God," etc. [Mic 6:8].

And he corroborates this, because the Prophet here makes fun of those who wish to make satisfaction through works, saying:

"What shall I offer to the Lord that is worthy? . . . Shall I offer holocausts unto him, and yearling calves? Can the Lord be appeased with thousands of rams, or with many thousands of he-goats?" etc. [Mic 6:6f]. As if he did not say this.

4. Christ by his passion and death made satisfaction for our sins. Yet the passion of Christ was sufficient not only for removing sins, but also for wiping out punishments. "For he has borne our infirmities," says the prophet, "and carried our sorrows" [Is 53:4]. Therefore, etc.

Reply of the Catholics.

1. First of all we deny that John did not teach satisfaction. Surely he enjoined alms which pertain to satisfaction, saying: "He who has two coats, let him give to him who has none; and he who has food, let him do in like manner" [Lk 3:11]. Indeed those baptized by John confess their sins that according to the quality of the sins penance might be determined for them. Hence he taught, bring forth fruits worthy of penance which fruits arise through works of satisfaction. Therefore Luther is lying when he says that John only imposed the observance of commandments.

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To this I say that John did not preach mere repentance but a baptism of repentance, not his own, but of Christ for the remission of sins. Therefore he was not obligated to make more express mention of satisfaction to those baptized by him and those thereafter to be baptized by the baptism of Christ (in which at the same time both guilt and penalty are remitted).

2. In the words of the prophet nothing else is promised than a life of grace, in order to pursue it, and if satisfaction is not exacted in the thing itself, yet it is exacted in vow and intention, and, it necessarily follows, in order to preserve the life of grace as pursued.

Now if by this word of the prophet satisfaction were not expressed, still it follows: therefore it was not satisfaction, or the prophet has deceived us. Seeing that it is not expressed

in one passage of the Scriptures, it is abundantly brought forth elsewhere. Just as in this passage he expresses justice alone, saying nothing of fortitude, temperance or chastity, yet these are set forth and enjoined in other passages.

3. Micah in these words does not exclude but rather includes works of satisfaction. That is, by judgment is understood the severe condemnation of oneself, through loving mercy, through exercising works of alms and piety out of love for the poor, and through walking carefully with God, the observance of divine commandments. Augustine agrees, saying: "In this repentance each one ought to exercise greater severity in himself in order that having been judged by himself he may not be judged by the Lord; so speaks the Apostle [1 Cor 11:31f]" [De Poenitentiae Medicina, c. 2].

Nor does Micah make fun of those who wish to make satisfaction to God through good works, but he means that sacrifices and holocausts of animals were not sufficient nor did they avail for the wiping out of sins. "For it is impossible with the blood of goats and bullocks sin should be taken away" [Heb 10:4]. And in themselves these were not pleasing or acceptable to God. 1532 [For through the prophet he says "I desire not holocausts of rams and of bullocks and blood of calves and lambs" [Is 1:11]. Yet he wished and indeed commanded these things to be offered to him also for sins, not because these sacrifices themselves cleansed from sins, but because certain ones served as witnesses to the faith concerning Christ who was to suffer, which cleansed from sins. And the law itself hints at this from the manner of speaking, for it says that in the offering of victims for sin the priest will pray for it and it will be forgiven him as if the sin were forgiven, not from the force of the sacrifices, but from the faith and devotion of those making the offering.]

4. The passion of Christ which is sufficient to remove all guilt of punishment not only eternal but also temporal and according to the mode whereby man participates in the power of Christ's passion and receives also absolution from the guilt of punishment.

[Moreover in baptism man participates totally in the power of Christ's passion (as through water and the Holy Spirit having died together with Christ to sin, and in him regenerated to new life).\* And for that reason in baptism man obtains remission of all guilt of punishment, but] in penance man obtains the power of Christ's passion according to the mode of his very own acts which are the matter of penance. Hence the Apostle urges the penitent ones saying: "For as you have yielded your members to serve uncleanness and iniquity, unto iniquity, so now yield your members to serve justice unto sanctification" [Rom 6:19]. [And the prophet says: "For as it was your mind to go astray from God, so when you return again you shall seek him ten times as much" [Bar 4:28]. And for this reason, not immediately through the first act of penance whereby blame is remitted, is the guilt of punishment released. But you complete all the parts of penance. Yet we admit how much contrition anyone can have in order to wipe away at one and the same time all blame and punishment. But this, as yet given to few, is not certain to whom it is given.]\*\*

And if anyone objects, [Pseudo-] Augustine says [On True and False Repentance, quoted in Decr. 3.3.42, Fr 1.1225]: "The Lord has never healed anyone whom he has not entirely liberated for he healed a whole man on the Sabbath [Mt 9], because he healed the body from infirmity, and the soul from contagion." Therefore, it seems at the same time guilt is remitted, all punishment is likewise remitted.

It is to be said that God perfectly cures the whole man. Moreover sometimes he did this suddenly as when he restored Peter's mother-in-law immediately to perfect health [Lk 4:38f]. But sometimes he did so consecutively as for example, the blind man enlightened by the Lord was first restored to imperfect vision whereupon he said: "I see men walking like trees," then he was perfectly restored so that he saw all things clearly [Mk 8:24]. And thus also he nevertheless spiritually converts the heart of

\*cf. Rom 6:3f

\*\*This 1532 passage is replaced in 1541 by; See Tom 4, Homily 51. Cf. Eck, De satisfactione et alias poenitentiae annexis, contra Lutherum. Liber unus. (1533).

men with such great agitation, that suddenly it perfectly achieves spiritual health, not only with guilt forgiven, but with all the rest of sin removed, as is clear concerning Mary Magdalene [Lk 7:7]. He previously forgives guilt through operating grace and afterwards through cooperating grace he removes in succession the guilt of the penalty and the other remnants of sins. It does not come about therefore from Christ's act that when guilt is forgiven, at the same time all punishment is forgiven, but rather the contrary, etc.



It is shown that one of the two kinds suffices for the laity.

"This is the bread which comes down from heaven, that if any man eat of it, he may not die" [Jn 6:50]. "The true bread . . . is that which comes down from heaven, and gives life to the world" [Jn 6:33f]. "I am the living bread which came down from heaven" [Jn 6:41, 51]. "And the bread that I will give, is my flesh, for the life of the world" [Jn 6:52]. Note, he mentions only the bread.<sup>1</sup>

When two of the disciples were going to Emmaus [Lk 24:30], Christ gave them the sacrament only under the species of bread, according to Augustine, On the Harmony of the Gospels, 3.72; and John Chrysostom, On Matthew.

We pray daily: "Give us this day our supersubstantial bread" [Mt 6:11].

"They were persevering in the doctrine of the apostles, and in the communication of the breaking of bread and in prayers" [Acts 2:42].

"Christ our passover is sacrificed, therefore let us feast, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" [1 Cor 5:7f]. It is clear that everywhere there is only mention made of bread, none of wine. Ambrose, Jerome, Eusebius, Benedict, when they were about to die, communicated only under the species of bread; and on the sixth day of holy week priests communicate only under the species of bread, as a figure whereof the Lord foretells concerning the posterity of Eli, that whoever would come to the priest and say to him "Put me, I beseech you, to one part of the priestly office, that I may eat a morsel of bread: [1 K 2:36].

"For we being many are one bread, and one body, all that partake of the same bread" [1 Cor 10:17]. And thus established the sacred synod of Constance: "Ambrose speaking of communication of the laity in his book On the Sacraments, mentions only bread."

Ignatius in his Epistle to the Ephesians<sup>1</sup> says: "Obedient to the bishop and the presbyter, in a sense not to be transgressed, breaking bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the remedy not for dying but for living." Note that he does not mention the wine. Gregory, Dialogues, 3.3, refers to St. Agapetus, how by presenting the Lord's body to a mute and lame man, healed him. There is no mention of the species of wine. The Council of Rheims<sup>2</sup> [Decr. 3.2.29, Fr., 1.1323] prohibits the laity from carrying the sacrament of the body to the infirm. There is no mention of the species of wine.

Thus it is bidden concerning the Eucharist of bread that the priest always should have it ready. Concerning wine nothing is bidden. And this is the view of the Council of Worms.

74<sup>v</sup> In the Council of Serdica, Ossius (Bishop of Cordova) forbids any rash persons from receiving lay communion unless they repent in the end, and what is lay communion but the taking of the Eucharist under the species of bread [Decr. Greg. IX, 1.6.2: Fr. 2.48f].

It was similarly decided at the Council of Agde<sup>3</sup> concerning the criminal priest who having been thrust into a monastery takes only lay communion [Decr. 1.50.7, Fr. 1.179].<sup>4</sup>

#### Objections of the Heretics.<sup>5</sup>

1. Christ instituted under both species and communicated to the Apostles under both species, and gave the commandment to all, saying: "All of you, drink of this" [Mt 26:27].

2. In the primitive Church they communicated under both species, just as is proved by Cyprian, On the Lapsed [c.25], where the Deacon pours out the sacrament of the cup for a girl.

75<sup>r</sup> 3. Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you will not have life in you.

4. The whole sacrament ought to be given to laymen; otherwise, because the laity have now been deprived of the cup, for the same reason the Church could bar them from the eucharist.

5. All admit that the priest ought to communicate, under penalty of sin, under both species, and why do not the laity omitting this, sin?

Reply of the Catholics.

1. We concede that Christ as consecrator instituted the sacrament under both kinds and gave it to the Apostles under both kinds, who now were priests; thus today the celebrant priest partakes under both kinds, but why this to the laymen? "Drink, all of you," is said to the Apostles and priests. This they do, that is, consecrate in remembrance of Christ, for no others but the Apostles were present, as is clear from the Gospel [Mk 14:23], "and they all drank of it"--it is false to apply this to laymen.

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2. We admit that this was the practice in the primitive Church, yet it was not the universal practice, as is clear from Acts 2:42, as changed by the Church.

I. First, because when the multitude of people is considered, where there are old men, youths, weak persons, if they do not exercise due caution, injury may be caused to the sacrament through the spilling of the liquid.

II. Secondly, in such a great multitude how could a vessel commodiously contain the sacrament of wine and function effectively without spilling?

III. Thirdly, the sacrament cannot easily be preserved for the infirm, because it turns sour, it putrifies, causing nausea or vomiting to those who partake of it.

IV. Fourthly, it cannot easily be carried from place to place for the infirm without danger of spilling.

76<sup>r</sup>

V. Fifthly, it might otherwise happen that the greatest irreverence might be done to the most worthy sacrament.

VI. Alexander of Hales relates a thing attested by miracles, that when the monks were standing up to partake under both species, while the priest was performing the sacrament, there

appeared a platen full of blood; when the monks saw this, they were struck dumb; by this sign their prayer ceased. Now the primitive Church must have believed that the laity began to communicate under both species, and that which comes from the tradition of the Apostles is a unity, because no one can point out when this began.

76<sup>v</sup> 3. Because sacramental eating demands spiritual eating, "The words that I have spoken are spirit and life" [Jn 6:64]. Hence the whole Christ is under each species, body and blood. Therefore the layman, under the species of bread, drinks blood, but not under the proper species, but under the species of bread. Now Christ only acts from our incorporation into him, which the communion of the body sufficiently indicates. Therefore here the eye must not be fixed upon this sacrament.

4. Although the Church does not give the other species, the Church could do so. For it is no less under either species, as under two, and receives as great fruit of one species, as from the other, yet the Church ought not to deprive the faithful completely of the fruit of the sacrament.

77<sup>r</sup> 5. Consecrating both species, he consecrates, because it is a question of the representation of the Lord's passion; for this reason body and blood are at one and the same time consecrated under both species; and the priest in the person of the whole people offers and takes under both species,\*in whose person the whole people ought to believe that they joyously drink, by a certain spiritual reception, the blood of Christ.

\*The priest communicates for the whole people.

CHAPTER 11  
CONCERNING MARRIAGE<sup>1</sup>

It is shown that Marriage is a sacrament.

"Women are to be subject to their husbands, as to the Lord, because the husband is the head of the wife, just as Christ is the head of the Church; he is the savior of his own body. . ." [Eph 5:22f]. Later: "On this account a man will leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife, and the two will be one flesh: this is a great sacrament, that I speak in Christ and the Church" [Eph 5:31-32].<sup>2</sup> "Here openly he declares it a sacrament, because he shows the joining of man and wife to be the sign of a sacred thing, namely of Christ and the Church. And that you may not believe this only through a comparison, derivatively, he shows it to be a true sacrament first declared by the prophet." So does Jerome understand the passage.

77<sup>v</sup>

"Marriage honorable in all, and the bed undefiled" [Heb 13:4]. The bed would not be without defilement if there were not the grace of a sacrament.

"Those whom God has joined together, let no man put asunder" [Mt 19:6].

Divine joining together is not without grace.

"In order to avoid fornication, let each one have his own wife" [1 Cor 7:2].

"Honor and riches are given by parents; but a prudent wife is properly from the Lord: [Prov 19:14].

"Everyone of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honor" [1 Thess 4:4]. Sanctification is not without grace.

"Yet she shall be saved through childbearing; if she continue in faith, and love" [1 Tim 2:15]. To bring forth children without grace would be more condemnation than salvation.

78<sup>r</sup> "If any brother has an unbelieving wife, and she consent  
to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And if any faithful  
woman has an unbelieving husband, and he consent to live with her,  
let her not dismiss him. For the unbelieving husband is sanctified  
by the believing wife . . . otherwise your children would be unclean,  
1572 but now they are holy" [1 Cor 7:12-14], [that is,] through the  
sacrament.

It is probable that the blessing which God gave Adam and Eve  
was not without grace [Gen 2:23-25].<sup>1</sup>

Augustine [On Marriage and Concupiscence, 1.17.19]: "Not only  
fruitfulness, whose fruit is in offspring, not only modesty, whose  
bond is faith, but also the sacrament of marriage is commended to  
the faithful."

#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. Where the Apostle [Eph 5:32] calls marriage a "sacrament,"  
in Greek it reads "mystery."

2. Nor does Paul say matrimony is a sacrament absolutely, but  
in Christ and the Church.

#### Reply of the Christian.

1. We admit marriage to be a mystery, but with what rashness,  
he infers: Therefore, it is not a sacrament, when all sacraments  
are mysteries, and the Greeks commonly call sacraments "mysteries."

2. Marriage is a great sacrament in Christ and the Church, and  
through this the heretic cannot prove that thus it is any less a  
sacrament, for here the Apostle explains, how it is the sign of a  
sacred thing, not only of grace, but also of the union of Christ and  
the Church.



CHAPTER 12  
CONCERNING EXTREME UNCTION<sup>1</sup>

Extreme unction is a sacrament in the Church of God, set forth by St. James.

79<sup>r</sup>

"Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man; and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him" [James 5:14f].

"The Apostles anointed with oil many sick persons, and they were healed" [Mk 6:13].

The matter of this sacrament is the anointing of oil, namely olive oil, which is properly called "oil."<sup>\*</sup> For other liquids, from their likeness to this take the name "oil" by form, because with prayer there is also the effect, namely, forgiveness of sins. It is therefore a sacrament, because there is a sensible sign, the sign of a sacred thing. For what other purpose does anointing have? Dionysius, On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchies, 7, determines this; also Hugo of Saint-Victor.

79<sup>v</sup>

[Pseudo-] Augustine, On the Visitation of the Infirm, 2 [cf. PL 40.1148], teaches that the infirm ought to confess, to communicate, and receive anointing, for he says: "That precept of the Apostle James ought not to be overlooked. 'Anyone who is infirm among you'" etc. Therefore, you should ask yourself that it also be done for you just as the Apostle James has said, or rather the Lord through his Apostle. Namely, the very anointing with consecrated oil is understood as a type of the anointing of the Holy Spirit.

[Pseudo-] Augustine, De Rectitudine Catholicae Conversationis, 5 [PL 40.1173] says: Let him who is sick, trust in God's mercy alone,

<sup>\*</sup>Cf. Thomas Aquinas, S.T., PT 29.4.

and receive the Eucharist with faith and devotion, let him faithfully petition oil and blessing from the Church, with which his body may be anointed.

Objections of the Heretics.

1. An Apostle cannot institute a sacrament.
2. There is doubt concerning the authority of that Epistle.

Reply of the Catholic.

1. It does not seem absurd that the Apostle, by Christ's authority, and the bidding of the Holy Spirit, instituted this sacrament. Yet even if Christ instituted it, still James set it forth.

2. And if at any time there were any doubts concerning this Epistle, whether it were written by another than James, yet it obtained canonical authority, according to the witness of Jerome, and is placed first among the Canonical Epistles, before the Epistles of Peter, John, and Jude. But if you do not hear the Church approving this Epistle, now all things will be uncertain, for a rash man of this sort would even deny the Epistles of Paul. See Tome 4, Homily 52.

CHAPTER 13  
ON HUMAN CONSTITUTIONS

Proving Two Axioms.

Axiom 1: A human constitution of councils and pontiffs  
to be kept.

"He who hears you, hears me; and he who despises you, despises me; and he who despises me, despises him who sent me" [Lk 10:16].

Note that he who despises the prelates of the Church and the ecclesiastical constitutions, despises Christ and the Gospel.

[Hence the Apostle writing to the Thessalonians, says:] "You 1529  
know what precepts I have given to you by the Lord Jesus Christ"  
[1 Thess 4:2]. Later: "Therefore, he who despises these things,  
despises not man but God, who also has given His Holy Spirit in  
us" [1 Thess 4:8].

Moses said to the people murmuring against himself and Aaron:

"I have heard your murmur against the Lord" [Ex 16:7]. Later:

"For what are we? Your murmur is not against us, but against the 81<sup>r</sup>  
Lord" [Ex 16:8]. [Therefore, on the contrary, he who conducts 1529  
himself according to the ecclesiastical rulers, also obeys God  
himself, according to that statement].

"He who knows God, hears us; he who is not of God, does not  
hear us. By this we know the spirit of truth and the spirit of  
error" [1 Jn 4:6].

[Ecclesiastical constitutions therefore are not only human 1529  
laws, but also divine, both because established by the fathers on  
divine authority, and because they are according to the divine  
scripture, and because they are for divine honor, the dignity and  
splendor of the Church,<sup>1</sup> the readier fulfillment of divine law and  
the salvation of souls. Hence they bind in the forum of conscience  
so that they make despisers and transgressors of them subject to  
eternal damnation;<sup>2</sup> in accordance with the Apostle's statement:]

"Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been previously constituted by God. Therefore he who resists the authorities, resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment" (Rom 13:1f). [Understand the same thing concerning just civil laws or constitutions.]<sup>1</sup>

1529

"Admonish them to be subject to princes and authorities; tell them to obey, and to be prepared for every good work" (Tit 3:1).

"Be subject to every creature . . . whether it be to the king as excelling; or to governors as sent by him . . ." (1 Pt 2:13f). And later: "Servants, be subject to your masters in all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward" (1 Pt 2:18), since so is the will of God.

The Apostles indicate that men can establish constitutions, forbidding the sacrificing to idols, of blood and of strangled animals (Acts 15:29; 21:25; 15:20). Paul indicates how many laws he gave concerning the appointment of bishops (1 Tim 3:2; Tit 1:7), concerning widows (1 Cor 7:8; 1 Tim 5:3ff), concerning the veiling of virgins (1 Cor 11:4ff), that women should not preach (1 Cor 14:34), concerning not deserting an unbelieving spouse (1 Cor 7:12-14), concerning profane matters (1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 2:10) and secular judgments (1 Cor 6:4). And yet Paul was a man (Acts 14:14).

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"Stand fast, therefore, brothers, and hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word, or by our epistle" (2 Thess 2:14). [Paul commands that unwritten traditions be kept.]

1529

Indeed, it was always permitted to priests and presbyters to establish constitutions. Dt 12:13f: The Lord forbids the erection of an altar, except where the Ark of the Covenant is, yet Samuel, when a temple existed at Shiloh, erected a stone in Masphat (1 K 7:12). And Elijah erected one on Mt. Carmel (cf. 3 K 18:42). If the judgment be ambiguous (Dt 17:8), see above ch. 1.\*

"The Scribes and Pharisees have sat upon Moses' seat: do what they say" (Mt 23:2). "If he does not hear the Church, let him be to you as a Gentile and publican" (Mt 18:17).

82<sup>r</sup>

"Let us, as many as are perfect, be thus minded; and if in anything you be otherwise minded, this also God will reveal to you" (Phil 3:15). Note that the church legislates to the honor of God; this she does with God revealing.

"I praise you, brothers, that in all things you are mindful of me, and keep my ordinances as I have delivered them to you" (1 Cor 11:2); moreover he did not deliver all things in writing, as above, and that precepts of this sort, both written and unwritten, were delivered in the primitive Church, Dionysius asserts, On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchies, 1.

"You shall not do there the things we do here this day, every man does what seems good to himself" (Dt 12:8).

82<sup>v</sup>

Axiom 2: Ecclesiastical customs, rites and ceremonies are to be observed just as much as divine laws.

This is clear first of all by a comparison. Custom in civil matters has the force of law, why not then in the practices of the Church? (Cf. Gratian, Decr. 1.11.4: Fr. 1.25) For the custom of the Church prevails over contentious persons.

"If any man seem to be contentious, we have no more custom, nor the Church of God" (1 Cor 11:16). On this, Jerome says: "The Apostle, after he had bidden the woman to pray with head covered, anticipated the objection, whereby someone might say: where is it written? For this reason he alleges custom.

"In the last days there shall come deceitful scoffers, walking after their own lusts" (2 Pt 3:3). This is what the heretics do, who do not live according to the statutes of the fathers, but according to their own desires.

83<sup>r</sup>

Heretics are those Hamites (cf. Gen 9:22), making fun of the nudity of Mother Church, because she gives precepts without express Scripture.





"Brothers, whatever things are true, whatever modest, whatever lovely, whatever of good report, if there be any virtue, if any praise of discipline, think on these things. And the things you have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me . . ."  
[Phil 4:8f]: of this sort moreover are the constitutions of the Church, which are to be kept.

St. Paul with Silas "went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches, commanding them to keep the precepts of the apostles and the elders" [Acts 15:41].

As Paul, Silas and Timothy" . . . passed through the cities, they delivered to them the decrees for them to keep what had been decreed by the Apostles and presbyters who were at Jerusalem" [Acts 16:4]. Ponder the decrees, because it was not only a decree abrogating the legal regulations.

Christ not only gave the power to plant the Church through preaching, but also the power to rule; now that includes the power to make statutes for salutary governance, without which one does not live here, etc. "Take therefore heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Spirit has placed you as bishops to rule the Church of God" [Acts 20:28].

83<sup>v</sup>

"We charge you, brothers, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother walking disorderly, and not according to the tradition which they have received from you" [2 Thess 3:6].

Polycarp to the Philippians:\* "Be subject to the presbyters and deacons, as to God and Christ." Jerome to Lucinius [Ep 28: Gratian Decr. 1.12.4: Fr. 1.28]: The traditions of the Church are to be observed, as they have been handed down by the ancestors; let each province abound after its own mind, and let the precepts of the ancestors and the laws of the Apostles be determinative."

84<sup>r</sup>

In the Decretals, there are many canons on this matter from the words of Augustine [Decr. 1.11.5, 7, 8; Fr 1.24-26].

\*Ch 5 [PG 5.1009f]

"Obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they are going to render an account for your souls" [Heb 13:17].

"Let all things among you be done according to order," [1 Cor 14:40], but order requires law.

#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. "In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines and precepts of men" [Mk 7:7].

2. "You shall not add to the word that I speak to you, nor shall you take away from it" [Dt 4:2; 12:32; Rev 22:18f].<sup>1</sup>

3. "You are bought with a price; be not made the servants of men" [1 Cor 7:23].<sup>2</sup>

4. "If you are led by the Spirit, you are not under the law" [Gal 5:18].

5. "The law is not made for the just man" [1 Tim 1:9].<sup>3</sup>

84<sup>v</sup> 6. "The law works wrath" [Rom 4:15].<sup>4</sup>

7. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom" [2 Cor 3:17].<sup>5</sup>

8. "By the freedom wherewith Christ has freed us" [Gal 4:31].

#### Response of the Catholics.

1. Christ did not simply disapprove of the traditions of men, but only those which they made that were contrary to the divine law, or gave up the divine law because it follows what is above. "For leaving the commandments of God, you hold the traditions of men," [Mk 7:8]. "And he said to them: Well do you make void the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition" [Mk 7:9]. Just as he says there, so also he says in Mt. 15:3. Paul explains: "Not giving heed to the commandments of men, who turn away from the truth" [Tit 1:14].

85<sup>r</sup> Hence, the Lord threatens the woe of eternal damnation upon those who fashion impious traditions of this sort. "Woe," he says through the prophet, "to those who make wicked laws, and when they write, write injustice, to oppress the poor in judgment, and do violence to the cause of the humble, my people, that widows

may not be their prey, and that they might not be fatherless," etc. [Is 10:1f]. But the constitutions of the Church increase divine worship, repress concupiscence of the flesh, and expedite the keeping of the divine commandments, and increase brotherly love.

2. Nothing is to be added to Scripture that corrupts or denatures it,<sup>1</sup> or that is said to be of the integrity of Sacred Scripture, except when it promotes those things that are commanded in Scripture or advised, for the constitutions of the Church, even if they are not in Scripture in exact form, still flow from it, as the Sage testifies.

"Every word of God is fire tried; he is a shield to them who hope in him" [Prov 30:5].

85<sup>v</sup>

"Do not add anything to the words of Scripture, and be proved and found out to be a liar" [Prov 30:6]. Therefore all addition is not simply forbidden, but only false and lying addition.

If any man (he says) shall add to these things, God shall add to him the plagues written in this book" [Rev 22:18]. To those who add or supplement by explaining, clarifying, or interpreting the Scriptures, laws, or constitutions for divine honor, the glory of the Church, and by establishing the salvation of souls (on which account Christ also willed that some be doctors, others apostles, others evangelists, others pastors in the Church [Eph 4:11]. And to some are given kinds of tongues, to others interpretation of speeches" [1 Cor 12:10], here is promised the reward of eternal life. "They who work in me" says eternal wisdom, "shall not sin; and they who explain me shall have life everlasting" [Ecclus 24:30f]. And elsewhere: "Those who are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and those who instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity" [Dan 12:3].

86<sup>r</sup>

A closer distinction solves the question: the things forbidden there are Tikum zofrin.<sup>2</sup> I believe that solution to be true. See in Porchetus and Galatinus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 139, below.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., by deliberate scribal emendation.

3. They ought not to become the servants of men, by committing schism, so that one is of Cephas and another of Apollo [1 Cor 1:12].

4. Those who are perfectly directed by the Spirit, are not under the Mosaic law, or the coercive law. Nevertheless they need the directive law, just as Adam had the law in paradise.<sup>1</sup>

5. Upon the just man who is wholly ruled by God's Spirit, in perfect love, the law has not been imposed [Gal 5:18] with regard to that part which is just, but because occasionally he lusts against the Spirit, with regard to that part he has the law to reform him. Or say as we have done concerning the fourth point.

6. The Mosaic law works wrath, if we are not helped by grace; grace and truth through Jesus Christ.

7. Just as Gospel liberty does not exclude the power of and obedience to the superior, so not its statutes but that liberty is opposed to the bondage of the Mosaic law, the bondage of sin. Therefore it is only liberty in the spirit, because it does not serve sins, and because that liberty promotes good, it does not exclude constitutions and precepts of the Church, which likewise promote good, as Paul attests. "You, brethren, have been called to liberty; only make not liberty an occasion for the flesh, but by charity of the Spirit, serve one another" [Gal 5:13]. And Peter: "As free, and not as making liberty a cloak for malice, but as the servants of God" [1 Pt 2:16]. Likewise: "Those who" (that is, heretics) . . . "converse in error, promising them liberty, whereas they themselves are the slaves of corruption" [2 Pt 2:18f]. This word of St. Peter we see fulfilled in the Priapist Lutherans, slaves of every uncleanness and filthiness, falsely passing off this ungodly and diabolical bondage as Gospel liberty.

8. Now in Scripture there is often commended freedom from that burdensome Mosaic law. Paul: "You are not under the law, but under grace" [Rom 6:14]. "The law rules in man, so long as he lives" [Rom 7:11]. "Therefore, brethren, be mortified to the law through the body of Christ" [Rom 7:4]. "Man is not justified from the works of the law" [Gal 2:16]. "The law was our tutor

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in Christ Jesus" [Gal 3:24]. "And everyone who is from the works of the law, is under the curse" [Gal 3:10]. "Stand fast, and be not held again under the yoke of bondage" [Gal 5:1]. "If you are circumcized, Christ shall profit you nothing" [Gal 5:2].

Therefore new moons and sabbaths and ritual washings have been done away with, etc. [cf. Is 1:13]. "How do you turn again to the weak and needy elements, which you desire to serve again. You observe days and months, and times, and years" [Gal 4:9f]. "For he is our peace, who has made both one, and breaking down the middle wall of partition, the enmities in his flesh, making void the law of commandments contained in decrees" [Eph 2:14f]. "Let no man judge you in food or in drink, or in respect of a festival day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to come" [Col 2:16f]. The same is taught in Heb 10:1 and Acts 15.

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Therefore, Christian or evangelical liberty is nothing else than (as it pleases Paul) redemption or absolution from the bondage of the law and of sin, accomplished through Jesus Christ, whereby summoned to God and to justice, we receive the adoption of sons. [Cf Rom 6-8; Gal 5] Concerning this freedom the Savior said to the Jews: "If therefore the son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed" [Jn 8:36]. See Augustine on this.

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CHAPTER 14  
ON FEASTS AND FASTS

On not eating meats and degrees of consanguinity.

1529 [Proposition 1: On the Observance of Feast Days]

[Exodus 12:16] That one day in the week is consecrated to God is obvious to all.

In the Law of Moses God established still other feasts:

"Three times each year you will celebrate feasts to me . . . of unleavened bread . . . of the first fruits, of the grain" [Ex 23:14, 15, 16, 19].

88<sup>v</sup> "Thrice a year every one of your males will appear before the Lord your God, namely at Passover, at Pentecost, and at the feast of tabernacles" [Ex 23:17; Dt 16:16].\*

In this passage you have the pilgrimage of the Jews, and founded from it and upon it, the pilgrimage of the Christians.

"In the seventh month, the first day of the month, you shall keep a sabbath, a memorial, with the sound of trumpets, and it shall be called holy" [Lev 23:24]. "On the tenth day of this the seventh month the day of expiations will be most celebrated and will be called holy" [Lev 23:27]. Later: "From the fifteenth day of the seventh month. . ." will be the feast of tabernacles for seven days: and something is to be offered each day [Lev 23:39ff].

89<sup>r</sup> "On the calends moreover, that is, the first days of the months, you shall offer a holocaust to the Lord" [Num 28:11]. Moses dedicated the tabernacle of the Lord [Ex 40:43; Num 7:1ff]. The dedication of the first temple under Solomon [3 K 8]. The dedication of the second temple under Esdras [1 Esd 6:16ff]. The dedication of the restored temple and of the altar just as one reads: "And they kept the dedication of the altar eight days" [1 Macc 4:56].

\*Martin Bucer, Grund und Ursache (1529) Butzer, Deutsche Schriften, I. 267 argues ". . . against the suggestion that the Jewish festivals of the Feast of the Tabernacle, and the Feast of the Unleavened Bread implied that the Church should also celebrate Christmas and Epiphany" (Old, Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship. p. 29, n.1).



Note that the feast of Purification was instituted by Judas Maccabeus, yet observed by Christ. Let us list the feasts of the Jews apart from the Sabbath: seven days of unleavened bread at Passover, one of Pentecost, one day of trumpets, one day of expiation (which was at the beginning of the year), seven days of tabernacles or booths, seven days of purification or lights or dedication. They had twelve of new moons, or lunations; on leap years, thirteen. Taken together the days total thirty-five when only three sabbaths come together.

But since we have received greater benefits from God through the Gospel, than the Jews under the Law, why have we not also to give more thanks to God, even than those who were under the old Law? Hence the feast of passover under the law was succeeded in the new law by the feast of the passion and resurrection of Christ. For Christ was sacrificed as our Passover [1 Cor 5:7]. The feast of Pentecost on which the old law was given was succeeded by Pentecost on which was given the law of the spirit of life. The feast of new moon was succeeded by the feast of the glorious virgin Mary in whom first appeared the illumination of the sun, that is, Christ through the abundance of grace. The feast of trumpets is succeeded by the feast of the Apostles the sound of whose preaching went forth into all the earth. The feast of Atonement is succeeded by the feast of the Martyrs and Confessors.

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The feast of Tabernacles was succeeded by the feast of the consecration of the Church. The feast of assembly and congregation was succeeded by the feast of the Saints, or also the feast of all Saints.

The Sabbath is manifoldly commanded by God [Gen 2:3; Ex 20:9f; Num 15:32f] and neither in the Gospel nor in Paul is it set forth that the Sabbath was to cease. Nevertheless the Church established the Lord's Day through the traditions of the apostles without Scripture. John remembers the Lord's Day, saying: "I was in the spirit

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on the Lord's Day: [Rev 1:10]. His disciple, Ignatius, remembers the same day (To the Philippians, at the end). Concerning the Lord's Day of the Passover, Jerome says: "The universal grace of the Sabbath replaced that ancient festival of the Jews by the solemnity of this day."

Moreover, the Sabbath was changed because it signifies the first creation on the Lord's Day on which is commemorated the new creation begun with the resurrection of Christ. Hence, Augustine responding to the questions of Januarius [Epist. 54] says, "the Lord's Day was declared by the resurrection of the Lord not to the Jews but to the Christians and from that resurrection begins to have its own festival." The Council of Lyons set the feast of St. Lawrence, of St. Michael, St. Martin, and All Saints [Gratian Decr. 3.3.1: Fr. 1.1353]. And the Finding [Invention] of the Cross [Gratian Decr. 3.3.19: Fr. 1.1357].

Augustine, Against Faustus, 19.28f:<sup>1</sup> "When you ask why do Christians not observe the sabbath rest I answer: indeed Christians do not observe that for the reason that what was professed as a figure has now been fulfilled by Christ." For more on this, see Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose and Gregory to the Romans.

They celebrated the feast of St. Lawrence at Hippo (Augustine, On John, Tr. 27): And at Rome under Pope Leo as in the homily of that day.

Proposition 2: On Delight in Foods.

The Church can fully prohibit certain foods at certain times.

"You are to abstain from things sacrificed to idols and from blood and from things strangled" [Acts 15:29].

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"Let us follow after the things of peace, and keep the things of edification. Do not destroy the work of God for food. All things indeed are clean, but it is evil for that man who eats with offense. It is good not to eat flesh, and not to drink wine, nor anything by which your brother is offended or made weak or scandalized" [Rom 14:19-21].

"If food should scandalize my brother, I will never eat flesh, lest I should scandalize my brother" [1 Cor 8:13].

"Flesh and wine have not entered into my mouth" [Dan 10:3].

Leo IV says, "The custom of abstaining from flesh on the fourth and sixth days of the week is very ancient" [Decr. 3.3.11, Fr. 1.1355]. And from Jerome one gathers this in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians; and Ignatius, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, attests this, To the Philippians.

Proposition 3: On the Reason for Fasting.

Concerning fasting, it is indeed clear that it is a holy thing, 91<sup>v</sup>  
for the softening of the body, the expulsion of a pertinacious spirit, the imploring of divine grace, and the imitation of Christ fasting.

"My knees are weakened through fasting, and my flesh is changed for oil" [Ps 108:24].

"Can the children of the bridegroom mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them?" [Mt 9:15]. "But the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them; then they shall fast" [Lk 5:34]. The Apostles fulfilled that by work: "And as they were ministering to the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said to them: separate for me, etc." [Acts 13:2].

"When they had ordained to them presbyters in every church and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord" [Acts 14:22].

"In all things let us exhibit ourselves as the ministers of God in much patience . . . in labors, in watchings, in fastings" [2 Cor 6:4f].

The Ninevites undertook a fast [Jonah 3].

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"But you, when you fast anoint your head and wash your face in order that you may not seem to men to be fasting but to your Father who is in secret and your Father who sees in secret will repay you" [Mt 6:17f]. Note that fasting is meritorious.

Likewise concerning Lent.

"When Jesus had fasted forty days and forty nights, afterwards he was hungry" [Mt 4:2].

Moses fasted forty days and forty nights [Dt 9:25]. Similarly Elijah fasted as many days [3 K 19:8].

"Sanctify a fast" [Joel 1:14]. "I humbled my soul in fasting" [Ps 34:13].

92<sup>v</sup> "If a woman vow to afflict her soul by fasting . . . it shall depend upon the will of her husband, whether she shall do it or not do it. But if the husband hearing it, keep silent, and postpone his decision till another day, whatever she had vowed and promised, she shall fulfill" [Num 30:14f].

Holy Scripture everywhere attests that fasting will be acceptable to God: in Ahab [3 K 21:27, 29] Tobit [Tob 12:8] Judith [Jud 4:12; 8:6] Esther [14:2; 4:16] Daniel [Dan 9:3] the Ninevites [Jonah 3:5] the widow Anna [Lk 2:37].

Ignatius To the Philippians: "Do not hold Lent to be of no account, for it contains an imitation of the conversation of God."

Pope Telesphorus, a near-contemporary of the Apostles, confirmed this [Decr., 1.4.4: Fr. 1.6, n. 16]. Likewise Ambrose [cf. Decr., 1.4.5] in many sermons. Likewise the Councils of Agde and Orleans. Origen On Leviticus, Hom 10: "We have forty days consecrated to fasting." Jerome, Against Montanus: "We fast during Lent according to the tradition of the Apostles."

Jerome [Against Jovinian, 2; cf. Gratian Decr. 2.33.3.2.40: Fr. 1. 1202-1206]: Jovinian turned the affliction of fasts and all the punishment of the body into luxury and banqueting.

93<sup>f</sup> Irenaeus: The Valentinian heretics said that one ought to eat meat freely at all times [Irenaeus, Against Heresies 1.1].

Chrysostom, On Matthew, Hom 56: "He remembers concerning the fasts of the monks, and how they say thanks."

Origen On Leviticus, Hom. 10: "We have forty days consecrated to fasts; we have the fourth and sixth days of the week on which we celebrate a fast publicly." It is certainly Christian freedom to fast at all times, not through superstitious observance but through virtue.

"For how may uncorrupted chastity be preserved among them unless it be supported by the straiter props of continence. How do men pursue wisdom and knowledge? Do they not do so through continence of the belly and the throat? How does anyone castrate himself for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven [Mt 19:12] unless he rejects abundance of foods? Unless he use abstinence as minister? This therefore is the reason why Christians fast." So speaks Origen.

Bishop Maximus [of Turin, Homiliae, 1.38: PL 57.307]: "We have set forth examples from the Holy Scriptures by which we prove that this number "forty" was not established by men, but divinely consecrated, not initiated by earthly cogitation, but enjoined by heavenly majesty." And a little later [Ibid., PL 57.308]: "These precepts are not so much of priests as of God. And for that reason anyone who rejects them does not reject the priest but Christ who speaks in his priests." Ambrose, Sermon on the Fast says in order that we may know that it is not a new fast, he established (that is for our first parents) there (that is, in paradise) the first law concerning fasting, etc. [Decr. 1.35.8, Fr 1.132]. Gregory, Augustine, and all who were Catholic doctors so understood and taught concerning the observance of fasts.

Proposition 4: On Grades of Consanguinity.

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The grade of consanguinity is an impediment to marriage. John the Baptist upbraided Herod, saying: "It is not permitted to you to have your brother's wife" [Mk 6:17].

Paul turned over to Satan the Corinthian fornicating with his father's wife [1 Cor 5:1, 5].

In the old law grades of consanguinity and affinity have been forbidden by God. "No man shall approach to her that is near of kin

to him by blood, to uncover her nakedness" [Lev 18:6]. Gregory the Great, writing to the bishops of Gaul: "We decree that each one keep his descent pure even to the seventh generation, and so long as they recognize next of kin by affinity I deny that they yield to conjugal copulation. If they should do this, they are to be separated." [Decr. 2.35 2/3.1, Fr 1.1264] Nevertheless a general council reduced this to the fourth degree [Lateran IV, Can. 50: Decret. Gregor. IX, 4.14.8; Fr. 2.7 03f].

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Ambrose, Epistles, 8.66, teaches: "Not all lawful grades were expressed by the law." Before the times of St. Gregory they used also to give dispensation even in the second degree, for he writes to Augustine, bishop of the English: A certain Roman law permits that the son and daughter of either a brother or sister or of two full brothers, may be united, but by experience we have learned from such a marriage progeny does not spring forth." [Gratian, Decret. 2.35.2/3.20; Fr. 1.1268f].

Objections of the Heretics against the Second Proposition.

1. It is not what enters the mouth, that defiles a man [Mt 15:11].<sup>1</sup>

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2. "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be rejected that is received with thanksgiving" [1 Tim 4:4]. And there he calls "a doctrine of devils" [1 Tim 4:1] and lying [v.2], "to abstain from foods, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by the faithful" [v.3].

3. "All things are clean to the clean, but to those defiled and to unbelievers, nothing is clean" [Tit 1:15].

4. "Let no man therefore judge you in food, or in drink, or in respect of a festival day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths, which are a shadow of things to come" [Col 2:16f].

5. "If by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live," [Rom 8:13]; he did not say "by fasts."

6. In the Gospel, Christ did not command the choice of foods. Why then do you impose this burden upon the faithful?



7. Christian freedom does not allow these burdens of bondage [Acts 15:28].

Response of the Catholics.

1. Here Christ says nothing concerning fasts, but is removing the error of the Jews, who believed foods touched by unwashed hands were unclean, and one who ate this food became unclean, as is clear from Matthew and Mark. This stupidity Christ rejected, stating that foods touched by unwashed hands do not make unclean those who eat them. Otherwise, at the time of the Apostles, by eating strangled or poisoned meat knowingly, one would not become unclean. The Manichees also twisted this passage against delight in foods. See Augustine, Against Faustus [18.2ff].

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Observe therefore, that food entering the mouth, which goes into the stomach, and is thereafter emitted, does not make man unclean. But man himself, taking food against the prohibition of God and Church, or also against the custom of the Church, and against his own vow or with the scandal of his neighbor, makes himself unclean. For this proceeds from an evil heart, that is, from the contempt of God and of the Church in its commandments.

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Hence Augustine [DCD 14.12]: "One ought not for that reason to deem light and small that sin committed in Paradise, because it was committed with respect to food, not indeed bad and harmful, except that it was forbidden," etc. Thus wine although good in itself, would have polluted the Rechabites, if they had drunk it against the prohibition of their father, but because they abstained from it, they pleased the Lord. For this follows, "These things the Lord of Hosts of Israel said. Because you have obeyed the precept of Jonadab your father, and have kept all his commandments . . . there shall not be wanting a man of the race of Jonadab, the son of Rechab, standing before me, forever" [Jer 35:18f].

And concerning John the Baptist, the Angel Gabriel foretold, "He shall drink no wine or strong drink" [Lk 1:15]. Likewise: "His food was locusts and wild honey" [Mt 3:4; Mk 1:6]. [If it

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were not salubrious to abstain from delicacies in food and drink and to control the flesh with fasting and abstinence, these things would by no means have been written in the Gospel in commendation of John the Baptist.]

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Eleazar and Maccabeus chose rather to die, than to eat pork against the prohibition of the divine law [2 Macc 7:1ff] . But the disobedient Lutherans, empty speakers and seducers, "subverting all houses, teaching what they should not, for the sake of filthy gain, as . . . the Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies" [Tit 1:11f], keep no fasts of the Church, "sitting upon the fleshpots in Egypt" [Ex 16:3], loathing the heavenly manna, "overcharging their hearts with overeating and drunkenness" [Lk 21:34], having mind and conscience befouled. They boast that they are evangelicals but deny their deeds, since they are abominable and unbelieving and reprobate toward all good works [cf. Tit 3:3].

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2. The apostle did not want the Jewish observances, namely, that some foods be perpetually forbidden as pork\* (except as decreed in the Council of the Apostles [Acts 15:28f], yet the Church believes every creature of God to be good, although for a time for the mortification of the old man, she commends abstention from some foods.

Now the Apostle Paul is not discussing fasting or softening of the flesh, but because the Tatianists and other heretics were saying that certain things were created by the evil principle. Paul tears this down, because "every creature of God is good, and to be received with thanksgiving," [1 Tim 4:4], which the Catholic does, although not for all time, nor does Paul here enjoin this for all time.

3. In the law some animals were unclean through signification; so the Jews believed through nature. Paul lays aside this error because to the faithful all things are clean and for the time are to be eaten, yet because it is not permitted to abstain

\*carnem suillam: cf. Is 65:4; 66:17.

for a time, the Apostle does not forbid this. Hence St. James the Lesser never used flesh or wine, according to the author Hegesippus [Eusebius, H.E., 2.23.5].

4. Similarly let it be said, for the faithful did not want by the Jewish rite to be judged in food and drink, and in festivals. 97<sup>v</sup>

5. By the spirit deeds of the flesh are mortified and the spirit is helped if the flesh is crucified by fasting, just as Paul says, "Those who are of Christ have crucified their flesh" [Gal 5:24]. And again: "I chastise my body and reduce it to servitude" [1 Cor 9:2].

6. Even if Christ has not taught that one should sometime abstain from meats, this makes no difference, for he taught things more necessary for salvation. But he leaves to the teaching office of the Holy Spirit and of the Church, the matters which are expedient for and promote salvation, and has not by himself explained all these things.

7. Refer to the above point and to the last argument, Chapter on Human Constitutions.\*

\* Chapter 13, pp. 98f, above.

CHAPTER 15  
CONCERNING THE VENERATION OF THE SAINTS<sup>1</sup>

1529 [Fourfold proof that the Saints are to be honored and called upon: by the Scriptures, by reason, by the authority of the saints, and the customs of the Church.]

98<sup>r</sup> I First Proof: By the Sacred Scriptures.

The Saints as friends of God ought to be implored to intercede for us, and although the Saints are not to be worshiped with latria, because this is owed to God alone, yet they are to be venerated with dulia. John 12:26: "If any man minister to me, him will my Father who is in heaven honor." If therefore God honors the saints, why should we not honor the saints? "So long as you do this to one of the least of these my brothers, you have done it unto me" [Mt 25:40]. Therefore honor shown to the saints is shown to God.

"But to me thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honorable; their principality is exceedingly strengthened" [Ps 138:17].

"If Moses and Samuel shall stand before me, my soul is towards this people" [Jer 15:1].<sup>2</sup> Expounding this, Gregory [Moralia, 9.12: Gl. Ord.] says: it is as if to say, 'not only do I hear them on behalf of my friends, for the merit of their great virtue; I know I am praying also for my enemies.' There Jeremiah is manifestly hinting that the saints pray for the people.

"Call now if there be any that will answer you, and turn to someone of the saints" [Job 5:1].\* These words, indeed, although Eliphaz the Temanite spoke them to Job, yet Job did not rebuke them, but received them as the salutary advice of a friend. Thus also Elihu said: "If there shall be an angel speaking for him, one among like ones, to declare man's uprightness, he (that is, God) shall have mercy on him, and shall say: Deliver him, that he may not go down to corruption, I have found wherein I may be merciful to him" [Job 33:23f].

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Baden Disputation (1526), Proposition 3: "Mary and the Saints are to be invoked as intercessors."\*\*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Obj. 8 of the heretics (Zwingli). below, p. 118.

"Go to my servant Job, and offer for yourselves a holocaust. . . his face I shall accept, that folly may not be imputed to you . . ." [Job 42:8]. And later: "The Lord also was turned toward the penance of Job, when the latter prayed for his friends [Job 42:10].

Jacob said: ". . . and let my name be called upon them, and the names of my fathers Abraham, and Isaac . . ." [Gen 48:16].<sup>1</sup>

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Moses said to him: "Let thy anger cease, and be appeased upon the wickedness of thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel . . . to whom thou swarest by thy own self, saying: I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven" etc. [Ex 32:12f].<sup>2</sup> And there follows: "The Lord was appeased upon the wickedness of his people" [cf. Ex 32:14]. [Azarias in the fiery furnace prayed, saying: "Deliver us not up for ever . . . for thy name's sake, and abolish not thy covenant. And take not away thy mercy from us for the sake of Abraham thy beloved, and Isaac thy servant, and Israel thy holy one, to whom thou hast spoken, promising that thou wouldst multiply their seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand that is on the sea shore" [Dan 3:34-35].<sup>3</sup> And he was freed with his companions from the fiery furnace.]

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"O Lord Almighty, God of Israel, hear now the prayer of the dead of Israel and their sons who have sinned before thee" [Bar 3:4], etc.<sup>4</sup>

"Judas Maccabeus saw Onias extending his hands to pray for the people of the Jews; after this he saw another man wonderful in age and glory, concerning whom Onias said: he is the lover of the brethren and of the people of Israel, who prays much for the people and the whole holy city, Jeremiah, the prophet of God" [2 Macc 15:12-14].

If the fathers of the Old Testament in limbo, not yet blessed with the clear vision of the divine countenance, were praying for their own, how much more are the saints in eternal blessedness contemplating ceaselessly God face to face, to be believed to be praying for us.

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"In as much as you have done to one of the least, my brothers, you have done it unto me" [Mt 25:45]. Therefore if honor is shown to the saints, honor will be shown to God.

"For this every saint will pray to thee in a suitable time" [Ps 36:6]. The Hebrews read "every merciful one": the blessed moreover are saints and merciful.

Absalom, reconciled to his father yet for two years stopping in Jerusalem, did not see the face of his father [2 K 14:24ff]. Thus the sinner reconciled to God does not immediately present himself to God, but through mediators and intercessors.

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Solomon ordered a throne to be placed for his mother next to his own [3 K 2:19]. The true peacemaking Solomon, Christ, honoring his mother, does the same thing.

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[Woe, ungodly Lutherans,<sup>1</sup> thinking it to be too much that the godly faithful of Christ, worshipers [cultores] of the God-bearing Virgin, say when they salute her:

Praise the Queen of Heaven.  
Hail Queen of mercy,  
Life, sweetness, and our hope,  
Hail, &c.

And on this account, the Lutherans, hating (where they could) all worship of the Christ-bearing Virgin, reckoned as the supreme idolatry (whereby the greatest injury is done to Christ who is life, sweetness, our hope, our Advocate with the Father), have rejected that worship. Let these ministers, haters of the glorious Virgin, see to it that they derogate nothing from her dignity, because by thus saluting the Blessed Virgin we honor her. Nay, all honor which we direct to the divine Virgin redounds to Christ, Son of God and of the Virgin: we honor the Virgin as mother in the Son, and the Son in the Virgin mother. Just as one honors the Son, one honors also the Father, and conversely. God is the Father of mercies [2 Cor 1:3]. Why then is the Engendress of God not the Mother of mercies? God is King of heaven and earth. Why will the Mother of God not be the Queen of heaven? Christ is the way, the truth, and the life [Jn 14:6]. Why is not Christ's mother these things, who found favor with God, and



gave forth for us our Savior the Lord Jesus Christ, Author of our salvation? That this title can be used in reference to the Son, so also to the Virgin mother (although not for the same reason), is clear from many passages of Scripture. Of Christ it is said: "He was the true light illumining every human being coming into this world." [Jn 1:9] To John the Baptist (than whom no greater one arose from those born of woman) this is denied. For so one reads in the same passage. "He was not that light, but that he might furnish witness of that light." [Jn 1:8] Note: he was denied to be that light, concerning which nevertheless Christ the true light afterwards spoke to the Jews. He was a burning and shining lamp. Christ says: "I am the light of the world," and yet he said to the Apostles: "You are the light of the world" [Mt 5:14]. The Apostle writing to the Philippians (2:15) says: "Among whom you shine as lights in the world." Hence Jerome on Obadiah Ch. 1 says: "How the Lord as light calls his apostles the light and says, You are the light of the world, and he the rock grants to Peter that he might be the rock. Also the good shepherd endowed them with the name of shepherds [pastores]. And whatever he is called, he attributed to his servants, that they may be so called." Thus the Savior willed his apostles to be saviors. No wonder when even the saints and righteous are called, through the grace and participation of God in the Scriptures 'gods,' according to that Psalm [Ps 81:6]: "I said, you are all gods and sons of the Most High." And again, [Ps 81:1] "God stood in the congregation of the gods." Therefore Christ alone by essence is light and good. Not so the Baptist nor the Apostles, who nevertheless were good, light, and lights in the world through participation. So also the Virgin Engendress of God is called Queen of heaven, Mother of mercy, life, sweetness, and our hope, because she found favor with God, and conceived and gave birth to Christ the repairer of our life, by the working of the Holy Spirit. And just as we have Christ, who is at the right hand of the Father, and intercedes for us, as our Advocate with the Father, so we rejoice that we have the mother of this Advocate as

our advocate with the Father and the Son, saying: "Lo, thou our advocate," &c. And not undeservedly. For if the Philippians (4:10) were joy and crown for St. Paul, and to the Thessalonians [1 Thess 2:19], "Hope, joy, and crown of glory," why then will not the glorious virgin mother be the same for us? Therefore the divine Virgin is not a woman as other women, having no favor or prerogative over them as the impious Lutherans blab. Yet we confess her to be by sex a woman, but an uncorrupted virgin, full of grace, Engendress of God, Queen of heaven, Mistress of the world, blessed among women. "Such a woman has not been found upon the earth" [Judith 11:19] nor will one like her ever be found. These are those great things which the Lord God Almighty, O blessed Virgin, has done for you, wherefore all generations will deservedly call you blessed.

The angels pray for us: "The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him, and shall deliver them" [Ps 33:8].

"For he has given his angels charge over you, to guard your ways" [Ps 90:11].

The angel prays for the Jewish people: "O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, with which thou hast been angry? . . . And the Lord answered the angel . . . good, comfortable words" [Zech 1:12f].

"The four living creatures and the twenty-four elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials, full of odors, which are the prayers of the saints" [Rev 5:8].<sup>1</sup>  
 " . . . the angel stood before the altar, having a golden censer, and there was given to him much incense, that he should offer of the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which is before the throne of God. And the smoke of the incense from the prayers of the saints ascended up before God from the hand of the angel" [Rev 8:3f].<sup>2</sup>

"Are they not all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them, who shall receive the inheritances of salvation?" [Heb 1:14]. Therefore angels support us: why then is it not permitted to call upon their support [suffragia] and ministry?

And the same reason applies to the saints as to the angels whose equals they are in the kingdom of heaven [Lk 20:36; Mt 22:30; Mk 12:25].

"No word overcame him (Elisha), and after death his body prophesied; in his life he did great wonders, and in death he wrought miracles" [Ecclus 38:14f].

## II Secondly It is Proved by Reasons.

1. Christ intercedes for us according to his humanity before God the Father. "For Christ Jesus makes intercession for us" [cf. Heb 7:25].

101<sup>r</sup>

"Jesus has an everlasting priesthood, whereby he is able also to save forever, those who come to God by him, always living to make intercession for us" [Heb 7:24f].

"But if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just: and he is our propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for those of the whole world" [1 Jn 2:1f].

If therefore Christ as head prays for us, why not also the saints his members, (who conform themselves to Christ) asking with him.

2. The living pray for one another and often obtain their requests.

"Pray for one another that you may be saved" [James 5:16], and he adds the prayer of Elijah [James 5:17; cf. 3 K 17:22].

Moses prayed [Ex 17:4]. The Canaanite woman prayed for her daughter [Mt 15:22f].<sup>1</sup> The centurion prayed for his servant [Lk 7:3]. Paul prayed for his fellow passengers [Acts 27:23f].

101<sup>v</sup>

[Dilemma Insoluble to the Lutherans:]

1532

and

1541

If therefore the living pray for one another, why do the blessed dead not also do this, who are more perfect in charity and more powerful with God and purer in mind? Or therefore the

saints do not pray for us as the living do because it is a thing unworthy of them and therefore will not befit Christ; or because it is a thing of such great excellence that it will befit Christ alone and not others; consequently it will not befit pilgrims.

No, indeed. God wills to be called upon through his saints, "I sought among them for a man who might set up a hedge and stand in a gap before me in favor of the land, that I might not destroy it, and I found none" [Ez 22:30].

"I beseech you, brethren, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the charity of the Holy Spirit, that you help me in your prayers for me to God, that I may be delivered from the unbelievers who are in Judea" [Rom 15:30f].

102<sup>r</sup>

III Thirdly It is Proved by the Authority of the Saints.

Cyprian, to Pope Cornelius [Epist. 1.1], asks that if any of them should die before, prayer for our brothers and sisters shall not cease. Bernard, On Canticles, Hom. 66, concerning the heretics of his own time: "They make fun of us because we are baptized in a font and call upon the prayers of the saints, and they wish to outlaw both the living and the dead of both sexes from Christ for they both defraud the dead of the prayers of the living and no less despoil the living of the helps of the saints who have died."

102<sup>v</sup>

"Vigilantius said that while we are living we can pray for one another, but after we have died the prayer of no one for another is to be heard." Jerome relates this and disproves it. For this Jerome fights against Vigilantius. "If the apostles and martyrs as yet in the body can pray for others when as yet they ought to be careful for themselves, how much more after victories, crowns and triumphs? One man, Moses, obtained forgiveness from the Lord for 600,000 men\* [Ex 38:25], and Stephen, imitator of his Lord and first martyr in Christ, prayed for forgiveness of his persecutors [Acts 7:59]. And afterwards when they begin to be with Christ will they be any less able? Paul the Apostle says that there were two

\*armatorum: males of military age.

hundred seventy six souls on the ship [Acts 27:37]. And after he begins to be set free with Christ, then is he going to close his lips; and on behalf of those who in the entire earth believed in his gospel, could he not even mutter? Vigilantius, 'Will not Vigilantius better be a living watchdog than a dead lion?' [Eccl 9:4]. You would have been right in proposing this saying of Ecclesiastes if he had confessed Paul dead in spirit." So speaks Jerome [Contra Vigilantium, 6 : PL 23.344c].\*

103<sup>r</sup>

Augustine On John, Tr. 84.1:<sup>1</sup> "The blessed martyrs whose memory we do not emptily celebrate. Consequently, then we do not thus call to memory at the table itself, that is, the altar, as we do the others who rest in peace, so that we may pray for them, but rather that they may pray for us, that we may cleave to their footsteps."

Augustine, Sermon on the Day of Peter and Paul: "Whoever honors a martyr, honors Christ, and whoever rejects martyrs, rejects Christ" [Sermons 295-299 : PL 38\*]. Pope Leo, concerning St. Lawrence, "By whose prayer and protection we confess we are aided without ceasing" [Sermon 85.4, in Natal. S. Laurent.]

Dionysius, Ecclesiastical Hierarchies, 7.6 [PG 3.561-562B]: "If anyone rejects the most holy discipline, and, seduced by unhappy pride, deems himself worthy of intimacy with God, and despises the saints," etc. Here if he lacks intense desire, he will never through his own effort acquire his ignorant request.

103<sup>v</sup>

#### IV Fourthly It is Proved by Church Custom.

The practice of the entire Church attests, as well as the Holy Fathers through all the centuries of Christians, and so many utterly clear miracles, and the festivals instituted by the Church concerning the saints. Saint Savinian<sup>2</sup> erected a church, to St. Peter the Living; he founded also two other churches in honor of St. Stephen and St. John the Baptist in Gaul.

<sup>1</sup> De Castro, Adv. Haeres., "Reliquiae," makes large use of Augustine, DCD, 22.8-10. ET NPNF(1) 7.350 (of On Jn., Tr. 84.1).

<sup>2</sup> Savinianus or Sabinianus, First Bishop of Sens.

Objections of the Heretics.

Christ alone, God, is to be called on because he alone is sufficient. He alone is most generous and most merciful, loving us more than all saints do.

1. "If you ask the Father anything in my name, he will give it you" [Jn 16:23].

2. "Ask and you shall receive; seek and you shall find" [Lk 11:9].

104<sup>r</sup> 3. "All things whatever you shall ask in prayer, believing, you shall receive" [Mt 21:22].

4. "Let us go therefore with confidence to the throne of his grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in seasonable aid" [Heb 4:16].

5. Therefore we ought to approach God "himself the father of mercies and the God of all comfort," [2 Cor 1:3] and fountain of grace, rather than the saints.

6. "There is one mediator of God and men, Christ Jesus" [1 Tim 2:5]. Why then do we want to make from among the saints more mediators?

7. Because this doctrine was deduced from Baruch and the book of Maccabees, they say those books are not canonical. Jerome, Prologue on Proverbs [PL 28.1242f].<sup>1</sup>

8. The heretic Zwingli answers Jeremiah. "If Moses and Samuel were still among human beings and were interceding for this people, indignation would conquer grace" [cf. Zwingli, Auslegung, 18].\*

These Objections Solved by the Catholics.

That the heretics are here deceived by false reasonings is clear from the fact that the things inferred by them as much do away with Christ's intercession and every time as they do away with the prayers both of the living and of the dead, whose intercession nevertheless, they, however impious and blasphemous they are, do not dare deny.

\*Cf. p. 110, above.



1. We confess that what is to be prayed for is to be prayed in the name of Jesus, is to be prayed for with assurance, yet that does not exclude the saints, because also through the saints as members we pray in the name of Jesus their head. Hence the Church concludes that the collects of the saints are through Christ our Lord.

And although God is best and most merciful, yet he is also most orderly, disposes all things sweetly, and draws the lower things through the middle things to the higher things, as Dionysius says. And thus is clear the solution to objections 1, 2, 3, and 4. 105<sup>r</sup>

5. It is most pleasing to the Lord, that we approach the fount of grace and the Father of mercies, yet we will do this more easily through the saints, because "our God is a consuming fire" [Deut 4:24; Heb 12:29]. We deservedly fear lest we perish from his face, just as wax flows from the face of the fire. On this account we seek mediators and intercessors.

6. There is one mediator of redemption, Jesus Christ, because he alone has redeemed the human race; there is no other name under heaven in whom we are to be saved, but there are very many mediators of intercession. Therefore there is one mediator through redemption, just as also there is one savior. For he alone is the good shepherd who has given his life as redemption for many. But there are many mediators through intercession, just as also Scripture mentions very many saviors. Moses says "I was the mediator and stood between the Lord and you" [Deut 5:5]. "Likewise he raised them up a savior Othoniel" [Judges 3:9]. And again: "And you have given to them saviors who have saved them" [2 Esd 9:27]. Pharoah the king of Egypt called Joseph "the savior of the world" [Gen 41:45]. 105<sup>v</sup>

7. All the canons of the Church concerning the canonical scriptures list Maccabees. Therefore let the heretics show where it is judged that books are canonical, and they will find those to be canonical, although in the synagogue they were not canonical, as

Augustine attests (DCD 18.36). And when the canon of books was published in the Council of Milevis,<sup>1</sup> perchance it had not yet reached Jerome.

106<sup>r</sup> 8. This is the proper thing which the heretics should wrest of Scripture: for when they are always demanding clear texts of Scripture and admit no glosses, why now when a clear Scripture is quoted does he, (Zwingli,) adduce an extraneous gloss? "God says 'if they stood' (cf. Jer 15:1); he does not say if they lived and stood.'" Especially since that gloss is not founded in Scripture, in Councils, in Holy Fathers, but in dreams from the unlearned and insane brain of the heretic Zwingli.

Augustine (Against Faustus, 20.21):<sup>2</sup> "The Christian people celebrate the memories of the martyrs with religious solemnity and to arouse the imitation of them and also that in order that they may share in their merits, and be helped by their prayers, consequently we have established altars not to any one of the martyrs but to the God himself of the martyrs, as much as in memory of the martyrs."

See the following, that the heretic Faustus also impugned the memory of the martyrs.

1532 [And the Apostle says: "We see now through a glass in an enigma, but then face to face," etc. (1 Cor 13:12). Therefore the saints see our prayers. For what would they not see, who see Him who sees all things? Consequently, according to the aforementioned reasons the invocation of the saints he would not teach by express Scriptures, since the Holy Spirit sufficiently taught the faithful in the Church through miracles and assistance that follows prayers poured out to

<sup>1</sup>Is either the Council of Hippo (AD 393), canon 36, or Carthage III (AD 397), canon 47, meant here?

<sup>2</sup>Or DCD 22.10 cited by De Castro, AH, fol. 137<sup>v</sup>. Augustine, Against Faustus, 20.21, answers Faustus' charge that the Christians worship martyrs instead of idols, when in fact the Christians are really merely paying honor to the memory of the martyrs. ET: NPNF (1) 4.262.

the saints, through which and through their word He confirmed sanctity of life and declared the glory of His blessedness, etc.

[Therefore we honor, venerate, invoke, and adore God and His saints, yet in an unequal manner. Him (because He is first and beginning of being and conserving and governing for all, and alone gives grace and glory) we worship with *latría*, which is owed to Him alone in accordance with the Scripture: "You shall adore the Lord your God, and Him alone you shall serve" (Dt 6:13; Mt 4:10). And again: "To God alone be honor and glory" (1 Tim 1:17). And with this adoration Mordecai would not adore Haman, fearing lest he might transfer to a man the honor owed to God (Esther 3:2). And the angel forbade John from wanting to worship him (Rev 22:8 f). The saints as intercessors and patrons, not as conferers of grace and glory, but (by their merits and prayers) as obtainers of requests with God, and thus far beneath God, we venerate, honor, and invoke with *dulia* (which is shown to excellent creatures as a sign of reverence) but the Virgin, bearer of God, by *hyperdulia*.<sup>1</sup> Now this invocation and veneration is sometimes called in Holy Scripture "adoration." Thus we read that Abraham adored the angels (Gen 18:2). So also the brothers of Joseph, offering him gifts, prostrated themselves on the ground and adored him (Gen 43:26). Later: "And bowing down they adored him (Gen 43:28). And the sons of the prophets, prostrate upon the ground, adored Elisha (4 K 2:15). And Nathan the prophet entered into the presence of King David and prostrate upon the ground adored him.

[In the litany the Church teaches the difference between the invocation or adoration of God and of the saints, where first of all the Holy Trinity is invoked under the distinction of persons and the unity of essence, to have mercy upon us. Then the intercession of the saints is implored, to pray for us. Finally, the litany returns to God that He may deign to hearken to us while the saints



are praying together with us, may free us from evil, grant us grace, and bestow eternal life. The Church observes a similar form of prayer in the prayers /fol. G 4<sup>v</sup>/ (which are called "collects") which are said on the festivals of the saints, where we implore divine clemency through the merits and intercessions of the saints. It concludes with: "Through our Lord Jesus Christ, who with thee lives and reigns" etc.]

The invocation<sup>1</sup> of the saints is not explicitly enjoined in the Scriptures. Not in the Old Testament: where the people had otherwise slipped into idolatry, and the fathers were in limbo, not yet blessed. "Abraham has not known us, and Israel was ignorant of us" (Is 63:16). Under the Gospel too there was no precept, lest the Gentiles being converted might believe themselves once more led back into the cult of those born of earth, so they would have worshiped (according to the old custom) the saints not as patrons, but as gods: just as they wanted at Lycaonia to sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:10). Now if the Apostles and Evangelists had taught that the saints were to be venerated, they would have been blamed for arrogance, as if they themselves had sought that glory after death. Therefore he would not teach by express scriptures the veneration of saints, but he taught that they were confirmed in faith through miracles and the assistance of the saints; by fervent prayers to them they were to be venerated: Although by an unequal worship to that of God, who is to be worshiped by *latria*, just as Mary by *hyperdulia* and the saints by *dulia*, which by extension is also called adoration.<sup>2</sup> 106<sup>v</sup> 107r

<sup>1</sup>The 1532 passage just quoted, which represented an effort on Eck's part to meet the Protestant rejection, on Scriptural grounds, of veneration of the saints, placed at the end of Chapter 15, was in turn suppressed in favor of the shorter passage here beginning which in the 1541 edition closes the chapter.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Aquinas, *S.T.*, SS 84.1; 103.4; cf. Calvin, *Inst.*, 1.12.3n8.\*

CHAPTER 16  
CONCERNING THE IMAGES OF THE CRUCIFIED AND OF THE SAINTS<sup>1</sup>

Although the Jewish nation was somewhat inclined to idolatry, still God commanded them to have some images.

"You shall make also two cherubim of beaten gold on the two sides of the oracle. Let one cherub be on the one side and the other on the other" [Ex 25:18].\*

"The Lord said to Moses: Make a brazen serpent, and set it up for a sign" [Num 21:8].

"You shall not make for yourselves any idol or graven thing, neither shall you erect pillars, nor set up a remarkable stone in your land, to adore it" [Lev 26:1]. And yet Joshua when he was about to die, "took a great stone and set it under the oak that was in the sanctuary of the Lord" [Josh 24:26]. Likewise Samuel [1 K 16:5ff]. Thus an altar was permitted to the sons of Reuben and Gad [Josh 22:10ff].

107<sup>v</sup>

Eusebius says: Seth the just man was the first to make images of God. Jerome, On the Hebraic Questions, and Peter Comestor, On Genesis, discuss the Jews and the reason why they made images.

John of Damascus, [Fount of Knowledge] 4.16, declares that we have the use of images from the tradition of the apostles.

Eusebius, H.E. 1.13, and John of Damascus [4.16] relate that Christ sent an image of his face to Abgar, king of Edessa, preserved at Genoa in the Church of St. Bartholomew.<sup>2</sup>

The Lord gave to Veronica the likeness of his face imprinted on a handkerchief, by the image of which Tiberius Caesar was healed, who on that account decreed divine honors for Christ. But because he had done it without the knowledge of the Senate, the Senate forbade this [cf. Eusebius, H.E. 2.2]. The author who recounts this is Suetonius.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Eck, De non tollendis Christi et Sanctorum imaginibus (1522). Also Baden Disputation (1526), Proposition 4: "Images of our Lord and of the Saints are not to be done away."\*\*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Calvin, Relics.



St. Luke painted the Virgin Mary, as is of great renown throughout the Church.

108<sup>F</sup>

The use of images was approved at the Second Council of Nicea. From it comes that couplet, translated into Latin:

"God is what the image reaches, but it is not itself God;  
Contemplate it, but with the mind worship what you discern  
therein."

In Constantinople under Irene, in three Lateran Councils under Gregory 2, Gregory 3, and Stephen, and the Council of Frankfurt-am-Main, the Felician heresy was condemned, which false persons are trying to revive in the Church. The Greeks called those heretics "Iconoclasts," that is, image breakers.

The Greek Emperors for a hundred years tyrannically combatted the use of images, and this was a rather powerful reason for transferring the empire to the Germans.\*

Bede says that no Scripture forbade images being made in the Church.

108<sup>V</sup>

Athanasius writes that a miracle took place with the image of the crucified in Beirut; this was the cross of St. Nicodemus.

It is clear therefore that in the time of the Apostles there were images in the Church.

Eusebius, H.E. 7.18, writes concerning the images of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and recalls the image of Christ, doing miracles. Cassiodorus also relates this in his Tripartite History 6. [41: PL 60.1057f].

Charlemagne wrote four books against those wishing to destroy images.\*\* Hence the people of Zürich ought rather to follow this

\*Not true: The empire was in the hands of Irene, an iconophile, at the Second Nicene Council (AD 787) when iconoclasm was repudiated.

\*\*Hardly the case, for the Carolingian Libri Carolini are directed against images. For Calvin's use of the arguments against images in this work, see Institutes, 1.11.14-16 (LCC 20.114 n.28)

founder and patron Charles, with the Catholic Church, rather than the heretic Zwingli.

The usefulness of the images is that they instruct the simple, admonish the knowing, affect all. For it befits God to be made visible in human vesture, to be presented in a visible image [Decr. 3.3.27, Fr. 1.1360]. And even Luther is wise in this respect, because he saw to it that Carlstadt, destroying and wiping out images, be banished from Saxony,<sup>+</sup> and with all his strength resisted this Felician heresy. Luther thus says against Carlstadt that commemorative or testimonial images (as for example, of the Crucified and the Saints) are to be tolerated. Such were approved even in the law. And not only are they to be tolerated, but so long as memory and testimony in them last, then they are worthy of praise and honor, as for example the statues of Joshua and Samuel. See our book On Images.

#### Objections of the Heretics.

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1. "You shall not make a graven image or a likeness of anything which is in heaven above, on the earth below, or of those things which are in the waters under the earth" [Ex 20:4]. Something similar is said in Ex 34:17; Dt 4:23; 5:8; 27:15, and in many other passages of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup>

2. Hezekiah broke the brazen serpent which Moses had made [4 K 18:4].

3. Christ promised that the time is coming and now is when true worshipers worship God in spirit and in truth [Jn 4:23]. But the Spirit is not influenced by images.

4. Furthermore, the peril of idolatry lurks under images, and the danger of unclean thoughts as well.

110<sup>r</sup>

5. Balthasar Hubmaier,\* who now calls himself Friedberger, a new-fangled heretic, makes this horned argument: Either images have been commanded, and then Scripture is shown forth, or they have not been commanded, and then are not valid. Afterwards he became the father of the Parabaptists.

<sup>+</sup>Cf. R. Bainton, Here I Stand, pp. 262f.

\*Burned at Vienna, 1528. Cf. p. 13 above; p. 205 below.

Reply of the Catholics.

1. By what preceded and what follows God explains his intention, for just as he forbade strange gods to be worshiped, so he forbade images of them, yet because we do not take our saints for gods, we are not forbidden to make images of them. For before the quoted words, he says: "You shall not have strange gods before me," "You shall not make for yourself anything graven," etc. There follows: "You shall not adore them, or worship them." Note: they ought not to be carried to that extreme. So does Luther himself understand this.

But if Leo Jud of Zurich is tied to the letter in the Jewish manner, saying that it is absolutely forbidden to make images, the corollary would be that Solomon sinned, when he made twelve little lions in his throne; he would have sinned by carving oxen in the brazen sea, and lions; and oxen and cherubim in the brazen basins [2 Ch 9; 3 K 7]. Who is so stupid as to believe that there was no painter, no sculptor in Judah, who then carved the cherubim? And whose image did Christ say was on the coin? [Mt 22:20f; Mk 12:16f] Augustine, Against Faustus, 20.23.

110<sup>v</sup>

And if the use of such things among the Gentiles seems similar to our own, still they are far differently used; they use them to another end. Thus let him speak concerning the images of Gentiles and of Christians.

2. That Hezekiah destroyed the serpent was caused by this abuse of the idolatrous people. For in the same passage there follows: "For till that time the children of Israel burnt incense to it" [4 K 18:4]. Hence, if it were a question of the abuse of any image, that ought to be abolished; therefore he withdrew the serpent, not because there was an image, but because the Jews were worshiping it.

111<sup>r</sup>

3. We say that God is to be worshiped especially in spirit and in truth. Images admonish and remind us to do this. For that the spirit does not exclude sensible signs, the sacraments, which have been established in sensible signs, furnish us proof.

4. There is no danger of incurring idolatry, for the simple-minded can most easily be instructed to rectify their intention, considering that they are to refer their veneration not to the image itself, but (as Basil [On the Holy Spirit, 18.45: PG 32.149C] teaches) to the prototype; lest occasion for, or peril of, unclean thoughts be given, lascivious subjects are to be forbidden to painters.

111<sup>v</sup> 5. It is clear from the first and second and fourth points, how truly horned is this argument of that Egyptian fly [cf. Ex 8:24]: This is not commanded in Scripture, therefore it is not to be observed. On the contrary, by this horn let us accuse him: is there anything commanded in Scripture, which is nevertheless not to be observed, as for example, on the hallowing of the Sabbath, on not eating blood or strangled animals, etc.? Let it be enough for a Catholic that the Church has established that the images of the saints, as useful and expedient, ought to be placed in the Church, and let the horns of sinners be broken. I shall say: to celebrate the Lord's Day to him is either a commandment and is set forth by Scripture, or is not a commandment, and is consequently invalid-- something even the heretic will not say!

CHAPTER 17  
ON THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS

How from the columns of the Church was established the ceremonious action of the mass (so to speak), is clear from St. Dionysius, the disciple of the Apostles. Yet because the new heretics have found the mass not to be a sacrifice--an unheard of heresy in the Church of God!--the contrary is proved from the Scriptures.

112<sup>r</sup>

There was always an office of priests to make offering for the sins of the people, for ignorance, for crimes, for cleansing [Lev 4; 5; 6; 9; 14].

"I have no pleasure in you . . . and I will not receive a gift from your hand: for from the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation" [Mal 1:10f].<sup>+</sup> The prophet foretold here the cessation of the sacrifices of the law, and the institution of the sacrifice of the new law. You cannot say that sacrifice was only on the cross, for he says it is sacrificed in every place and yet speaks of one offering, and there is no other sacrifice save the body of Christ so many times repeated in the mass.

112<sup>v</sup>

When Malachi speaks of the coming of the Messiah, he adds: "And he shall purify the sons of Levi, and shall refine them as gold, and as silver, and they shall offer sacrifices to the Lord in justice. And the sacrifices of Judah and of Jerusalem shall please the Lord, as in the days of the ancient era" [Mal 3:3f]. Note that the Savior has purified the priests of the Gospel, that they may offer sacrifices, not in blood, but in justice, as the Glossa Ordinaria says: that is, the eucharist.

"Many shall be chosen, and made white, and shall be tried as fire; and the wicked shall deal wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand, but the learned shall understand. And from the

<sup>+</sup>cf. Calvin, Inst., 4.18.4, 16; De Castro, AH 10 (1543 ed.), fol. 133E.

time when the continual sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination of desolation shall be set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred ninety days" [Dan 12:10f]. That that was to be fulfilled, Christ attests [Mt 24:15ff]: continual sacrifice at the advent of the abomination, that is, of Antichrist, will universally cease for four years, while the churches will be desolate. Therefore those who in particular churches cause the continual sacrifice to cease are precursors of Antichrist.

"For every high priest taken from among men has been ordained for men in the things that appertain to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins: who can have compassion on those who are ignorant and err, because he himself also is encompassed with infirmity. And on this account he ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to make offering for sins" [Heb 5:1-3]. Here the Apostle assigns the high-priest one especial office, namely, to make offering for sins. And although the heretics deny one can make offering for another, Paul teaches that he makes offering both for the people's and his own sins.<sup>1</sup>

113<sup>v</sup>

That the mass was frequently celebrated by the Apostles, Ignatius, a disciple of the Apostles, who saw Christ, shows in his Letter to the Smyrneans; accordingly it is not permitted, without a bishop, either to offer sacrifice, or celebrate masses, and because there is no real New Testament sacrifice (because a contrite heart is always a sacrifice) apart from the body of Christ, and yet in the Old Testament there were many sacrifices, all representing the sacrifice of Christ.

Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyon, [Adv. Haer] 4.32: "Him who is bread from the creation, he took, and gave thanks, saying: This is my body. And the cup likewise, which is that creation according to us, he confessed as his blood, and he taught the new oblation of the New Testament, which the Church, receiving from the apostles, offers to God throughout the world." This holy man who lived shortly after the times of the Apostles, could not speak more clearly.



Cyprian the Martyr writes to his brother Caecilius: "You should moreover know we have been admonished, that in offering the cup the Lord's tradition is preserved; and let nothing else be done by us, than what previously for us the Lord previously did, that the cup which is offered in commemoration of him, may be offered mixed with wine." St. Augustine repeats these words in On Christian Doctrine, 4.<sup>1</sup> And so does John Chrysostom say that in the mass is a sacrifice, in: On Matthew, On the Second Epistle to Timothy, On the Epistles to the Hebrews. Similarly, St. Ambrose, Augustine (very often), Gregory, and others. See our book, On the Sacrifice of the Mass.<sup>2</sup>

The order of the Mass or of the prayers by which the sacrifices offered to God were consecrated, was first established by St. Peter, the celebration of which the whole world accomplishes in one and the same way.

And the Sixth Synod [recte: Quinisexta, AD 692] thus determined: "James, brother of our Lord according to the flesh, to whom the Jerusalem Church was first entrusted, and Basil Bishop of Caesarea, whose clarity shone throughout the whole earth in the scriptures, added for us the celebration of the mass" [Gratian Decr. 3.1.47: Fr. 1.1306].

114<sup>v</sup>

St. Andrew wrote to the proconsul,<sup>3</sup> that he daily offered an unblemished lamb to Almighty God. Thus do all Latins, Greeks, Chaldeans, even schismatics, heretics, observe (not counting all those new dogmatists).

#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. "For by one offering he has perfected for ever those who are sanctified" [Heb 10:14].\*

2. Christ does not have need daily, as does the priest, of offering sacrifices first for his own sins, then on behalf of the people; for this was done once for all, by his offering of himself [Heb 7:27].

<sup>1</sup>1541 ed., marg: [Fulgentius] De Fide ad Petrum, c.7

<sup>2</sup>De sacrificio missae contra lutheranos libri tres (1526)

<sup>3</sup>Acts of St. Andrew (apocryphal)

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3. "Through his own blood Christ entered once for all into the sanctuary, thus obtaining eternal redemption" [Heb 9:12]. "But now he has appeared once for all at the end of ages, for the destruction of sin, by the sacrifice of himself" [Heb 9:26].

4. "In which will we are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" [Heb 10:10].

5. The Mass is a testament, not a sacrifice; this is the blood of the New Testament [cf. Heb 10:20]. Matthew [26:28] and Mark [14:24] relate: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood." How therefore can a sacrifice be made from a testament?

6. The Mass is the well-remembering of the sacrifice and offering. On that account Christ did not say, "Offer," but "Do this in remembrance of me" [Lk 22:19].

Reply of the Catholics.

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1. These heretics twist against the Mass the express and clear texts of the Apostle. The offering of Christ is indeed two-fold, and both are real and true, seeing that in both Christ is truly and really offered and sacrificed.

Once for all he has offered to God the Father his living body and blood on the altar of the cross for the salvation of the human race, and "the sins of the whole world" [1 Jn 2:2]. And concerning this offering the Apostle perceives, showing the excellence of this sacrifice, beyond the sacrifices of the Law [Heb 10:1ff].

Paul writing also to the Ephesians, says: "Christ loved us, and he gave himself to God as an offering and sacrificial victim for us for a sweet savor" [Eph 5:2].

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And on this account Holy Mother Church re-presents this oblation annually, once on the Day of preparation; nor does the consecration of the Eucharist take place on this day, but the eucharist consecrated on the previous day is taken, lest the Church remain on that day without the fruit of the Lord's passion. But the other

offering is sacramental, for Christ is daily offered in the Church and taken by the priests in the sacrifice of the mass under the sacrament [(that is, under the sacramental species, pure bread and wine),] in remembrance of the passion, death, and prior offering once for all accomplished on the cross. So the priest in the person of the Church presents to God the Father the offering made through the Son on the altar of the cross, and himself offered, and that is the offering according to the order of Melchizedek. Therefore this offering is also rightly called "remembrancing," not as if Christ were not really and trustworthily offered (as the heretics would have it) but because it is offered under the sacrament invisibly and remembrancingly as a memorial of the prior offering, by his bidding and his institution. [And this offering has been prefigured through the sacrifice of Melchizedek. Christ indeed is called a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek, who offered to God bread and wine as a sacrifice [Gen 14:18; Ps 109:4]. Hence Melchizedek was a figure of Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. Yet Christ did not offer himself on the cross under the species of bread and wine, but his body and blood under their own proper species. On the cross therefore he did not make an oblation according to the order of Melchizedek, but a little before had instituted it in the Last Supper to be repeated by the Apostles and their successors under the species of bread and wine in memory of him, to the end of the age. There is therefore in this very celebration of the Mass the immolation of the body and blood of our Lord under the form of bread and wine, a true and proper sacrifice of the priesthood of Christ Himself, according to the order of Melchizedek, whereby through the ministers of the Church he is daily offered to God the Father as expiation of our sins.] This offering is signified by the continual sacrifice whereby a lamb was daily immolated, one in the morning and the other in the evening, according to Numbers 28:4.

That second offering the priests do at Christ's bidding: "Do this in remembrance of me" [Lk 22:19]. For "to do this" refers not only to the taking but also to the offering. Otherwise he

would not through those words have given the power to consecrate. Christ once for all accomplished this offering on the altar of the cross, and its effect is daily distributed to us, [when the priest in the person of the Church presents to God the Father the remembrance of this offering.] Hence it comes to pass that while the first offering was of infinite merit, the second is limited and finite. The third is the merely memorial offering, which takes place on the day of preparation.

1532 Eusebius of Emesa\*: "Because Christ's body assumed [(in the incarnation)] was to be withdrawn from their eyes, and taken to heaven, it was necessary that on the day of the supper he consecrate for us the sacrament of his body and blood, that what was once for all offered for a price, might thereafter be worshiped through a mystery" etc. [Decr. 3.2.35, Fr. 1.1325].

117<sup>r</sup> It is clear that, contrary to the heretics, the Mass not only re-presents the Lord's Supper, but also his passion, death, and offering. It is manifest also, against the same, that the Eucharist is not only a sacrament (something which they contend) but at the same time it is both sacrament and sacrifice. It is a sacrament indeed, inasmuch as it re-presents and is received. But it is a sacrifice inasmuch as it is offered and sacrificed to God. For this reason also the Mass in which these things are accomplished, is called and is a sacrifice.

2/3. Let it similarly be said with reference to the four consequences, for they are speaking concerning the first offering. It is clear from Chrysostom, speaking concerning Christ as sacrificial victim: "And because that was offered once for all, it was offered in the holy of holies; moreover this sacrifice is the pattern of that one, the one we ever offer, not today one lamb and tomorrow another, but ever that very one; accordingly that sacrifice is one." Later: "For just as he who is everywhere offered, is one body, not many bodies, so also one sacrifice, but our high priest is he, who offered a victim to cleanse us; we offer

\*See Friedberg, 1.1325, n. 416, for attribution.

it, and what then was offered cannot now be consumed. But this which we do, is indeed done in remembrance of that which was done." Note how daily we offer one oblation, which was offered once for all, although the mode of offering, as a remembrance and re-presentation, is far different from the first actual offering.

5. We cannot properly say the Mass is a testament, because both the body of Christ is commemorated there, and yet is not called the New Testament. Therefore concerning the blood, that he said it is the New Testament, is to be understood confirmatively, just as Moses, about to confirm the Old Testament, received the blood of calves and goats, etc., and he sprinkled all the people, saying: "This is the blood of the testament which God commanded to you" [Ex 24:8]. Thus Christ by his own blood confirmed the New Testament, and entered into the holy of holies. Now there are many things of the New Testament which do not pertain to the Mass, such as baptism or the priestly key. Moreover, it does not follow that because the Mass is a testament, it, on that account, is not a sacrifice, as the King of England concludes. And a testament, according to the Apostle, involves the death of the testator [Heb 9:16f], and the Mass is a testament; then it involves the death of the testator, and thus an offering.

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6. The Mass is the remembrance of Christ's passion, not merely, just as any layman simply communicates, but is a memory of this sort: that in it there is a re-presentative action of the entire passion, and Christ said "Do this." Not only did he say, "Take," but "Do," that is (joining what went before and what comes after), consecrate, offer, take. Accordingly, that part of the Mass is called "the action."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, just as there was continually a sacrifice in the Old Testament, so Jesus, our Savior, will only cease to offer himself at the time when Antichrist comes. See our three books On the Sacrifice of the Mass, to the King of Poland.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Achtung

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, p. 7\*, note, above; also, p. 129, note.

CHAPTER 18  
CONCERNING VOWS<sup>1</sup>

Two axioms proved.

Axiom 1: That Vows are to be paid, Scripture teaches,  
nature dictates, and honesty demands.

119<sup>r</sup> Jacob made a vow to the Lord at Bethel [Gen 28:19f]. "When you make a vow to the Lord your God, you shall not delay to pay it: because the Lord your God will require it. And if you delay, it shall be imputed to you for a sin. If you refrain from making a vow, you shall be without sin. But that which is once gone out of your lips, you shall observe, and shall do as you have promised to the Lord your God, and have spoken with your own will and with your own mouth" [Dt 23:21-23].

"But a beast that may be sacrificed to the Lord, if any one shall vow, shall be holy, and cannot be changed, . . . neither a better for a worse, nor a worse for a better" [Lev 27:9f]. "Every thing that is consecrated to the Lord, whether it be man, or beast, or field, shall not be sold, neither may it be redeemed. Whatever is once consecrated shall be holy of holies to the Lord" [Lev 27:28].

119<sup>v</sup> "This is the law of the Nazarite, when he has vowed his offering to the Lord in the time of his consecration" [Num 6:21]. And from the beginning of the chapter: "When a man or woman shall make a vow to be sanctified, and will consecrate themselves to the Lord, they shall abstain from wine and from everything that can inebriate . . . Further on, "They shall not eat grapes either fresh or dried" [Num 6:2f]; ". . . no razor shall pass over his head" [Num 6:5].

How a woman's vow binds her, the Lord has decreed in Num 30:4.

"Vow and pray to the Lord your God; all you that are round about him bring presents" [Ps 75:12].

"I will pay my vows . . . before all the people" [Ps 115:14].



"I will pay thee my vows, which my lips have uttered"  
[Ps 65:13].

The wise man says: "The vows of the just are acceptable"  
[Prov 15:8].

"If you have vowed anything to God, do not delay paying it; for an unfaithful and foolish promise displeases him; but whatever you have vowed, pay it. And it is much better not to vow, than after a vow not to perform the things promised" [Ecc1 5:3f].

Isaiah says: "In that day (of the most holy Gospel), they (the Egyptians) shall worship him with sacrifices and offerings; and they shall make vows to the Lord, and discharge them. . . and he shall be pacified towards them, and heal them" [Is 19:21f].

"Cursed is the deceitful man who has in his flock a male, and making a vow offers in sacrifice that which is feeble to the Lord. For I am a great King, says the Lord . . ." [Mal 1:14].

120<sup>x</sup>

"Avoid the younger widows. For when they have grown wanton, in Christ, they want to marry, having condemnation, because they have made void their first faith" [1 Tim 5:11f]. If younger widows have condemnation, because they have made void their first faith, what then of our Lutheran monks, friars, and nuns, sacrilegious, fornicators, and adulterers.

St. Mark built in Alexandria the Semmon, that is, a monastery, as Eusebius attests, and Philo.\*

The Rechabites said: "We will not drink wine, because Jonadab the son of Rechab, our father, commanded us, saying: You shall drink no wine, neither you, nor your children, for ever. Nor shall you build houses, or sow seed, or plant vineyards, or have any. But you shall dwell in tents all your days" etc. [Jer 35:6f], and they are there commended to the Lord.

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Axiom 2: Perpetual Vows are better, for the sake of perseverance.

\*false: Philemon. The reference is to Philo Judaeus' discussion of the 'Therapeutae,' cited by Eusebius, HE, 2.17.

"I am confident of this very thing, that he, who has begun a good work in you, will perfect it unto the day of Jesus Christ" [Phil 1:6]. Where is Luther's faith that can do all things?

"I can do all things in him who strengthens me" [Phil 4:13].

"Thus says the Lord to the eunuchs. They who shall keep my sabbaths, and shall choose the things that please me, and hold fast my covenant, I will give to them in my house, and within my walls, a place, and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name which shall never perish" [Is 56:4f]. Note that we obtain more from a vow.

121<sup>r</sup>

"There are eunuchs who have castrated themselves for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who can take, let him take" [Mt 19:12].

"But I say to the unmarried, and to the widows: It is good for them if they so continue, even as I. But if they do not contain themselves, let them marry" [1 Cor 7:8f]. Later: "Concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord; but I give counsel, as having obtained mercy of the Lord, to be faithful" [1 Cor 7:25]. It is consistent with divine law that it is lawful to vow, and to keep the commandment to remain continent, and not to drink wine, etc.

"God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted beyond that which you are able, but will make also with temptation issue that you may be able to bear it" [1 Cor 10:13].

Paul consecrated Tecla in Iconium [Acts of Paul and Thecla, 24: James, p. 277].

Clement consecrated [Flavia] Domicilla<sup>1</sup> at Rome [cf. Jerome. Epist. 86].

Matthew consecrated Iphigenia with many virgins [Apostolic History of Abdias, 7.8, 13: James, p. 467\*]; and Faustus<sup>2</sup> confesses [cf. Eusebius, H.E., 7.11]; the daughters of Philip have kept virginity (Acts 21:9) [cf. Eusebius, H.E., 3.31].

<sup>1</sup> Niece of the Emperor Domitian

<sup>2</sup> A deacon associated with Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria; he died at a great age, a martyr in the persecution.

Dionysius [of Alexandria], in his Letter to Caius [Epist. 1: PG 3.1065A], remembers the cloistered ones, and calls them, worshipers male and female, therapeutae. Similarly Ignatius in his Letter to the Tarsians\*\* confirms this.

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Tertullian during the time of the martyrs wrote On the Veiling of Virgins.

Objections of the Heretics.

1. Christ gave us freedom; vows drive us back into bondage.

2. Christ wished counsels to be free; votaries turn them into commandments.

3. They are human inventions, and they add to Scripture. Dt 12:32; cf. 4:2: "Do not add to the word I have spoken or take away." "If any man shall add to these things, God shall add to him the plagues written in this book" [Rev 22:18].

4. Vows do not renew the inner man, but only outward works, which make hypocrites rather than saints. Accordingly, Paul said: "Exercise yourself to godliness, for bodily exercise is useful for little, but godliness is profitable to all things" [1 Tim 4:7f].

122<sup>r</sup>

5. Now, these outward works extinguish faith, sap hope, when they are trusted in, more than the mercy of God.

6. Votaries are guided more by their own tradition than by God's commandments: "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, who tithe mint and rue and every herb, and pass over judgment and the charity of God" [Lk 11:42].

7. By baptism the faithful person is bound to the Gospel rule. It is presumptuous for him to wish to bind himself to a stricter rule, since with all his effort he cannot achieve any more.

8. Besides, great insolence indeed it is, that those who cherish monasticism cause so many sects: when one boasts Benedict is the author of his sect, another Francis, another Bernard,

\*\*A pseudonymous epistle. See PG 5.895f (c. 9)

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contending among themselves over the worth of their orders. What is this? Was it not enough that they were Christians? Is a Franciscan better than a Christian?

Reply of the Christian Votary.

1. Vows will lead us back into bondage to Christ, yet this bondage is the highest freedom. Hence the Apostle: "Being then freed from sin, you have been made servants of justice and of God" [Rom 6:18, 22]. Indeed, to serve God is to reign with him.

Hence obligation to repaying a vow in no wise gainsays Christian freedom; accordingly, just as obligation to fulfill the commandments, so also transgression of the commandments, so also the non-observance of vows, cast one down into the bondage of sin. Hence the Lutherans, transgressors of their own vows, are the most filthy slaves of corruption.

2. Counsels are free in common, but when the promise accedes, they become obligating. Concerning men the judicial magistrate says: I will keep the covenant (Codex: On Covenants). Why should we not keep covenants with God? Consequently, God does not command vows to be made, but vows to be kept.

For just as marriage, before it is contracted, is free, but after it has been contracted it is firm and indissoluble, and accordingly necessary, so that apart from a great penalty (outside the case of a servant), divorce is unthinkable [Mt 19:3ff]. So also it is with vows; hence Pope Innocent III [Decret. Greg. IX, 3.34.6: Fr. 2.590f]: Although there is free choice to all in making vows, yet thereafter the repayment is necessary after the vow, so that without the expense of one's salvation, it is not permitted to anyone to retreat from a vow. Hence the Savior says: "No one putting his hand to the plow, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God" [Lk 9:62]. And "remember Lot's wife" [Lk 17:32], who, looking back was turned into a pillar of salt [Gen 19:26]. "But he who shall persevere until the end, shall be saved" [Mt 10:22; 24:13].

And the Apostle: "Only let him who now holds, hold until he be taken out of the way" [2 Thess 2:7], that is, even to death. For it is ruin for a man to devote himself to the saints, and afterwards withdraw his vows. "Render therefore," O votaries, "the things that are God's (that is, your vows) to God," in order that you may deserve to be saved.

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3. And if the rules of the monks and friars were established by all, nevertheless they flow from and are founded upon the Scriptures, for in them is nothing else contained, than the most salubrious admonishments of the Gospel, and summaries of that way. How nothing ought to be added to the Scriptures was dealt with at Objection 2, Chapter 13.\*

4. Outward works prescribed by the rule do not renew the inner man, yet they aid the spirit in order that the body may not too much weigh down the soul. If these things be done only that they may be seen by men, they are hypocritical; but if to the glory of God, praise-worthy. The Apostle does not wish there to be no bodily exercise, but sufficient if it conduces to piety. 124<sup>r</sup>

5. Outward works apart from God do not extinguish faith, for it especially to be nourished by them, "for faith without works is dead" [James 2:17]. Yet if anyone presumed upon works, he would deservedly be answerable for this. "If you do all things which are commanded you, say: We are unprofitable servants" [Lk 17:10].

6. Those who neglect the commandments of God do ill, whether they are religious or laity.

7. In order that the religious may more appropriately carry out the precepts of the Gospel and because they have promised them in baptism, therefore they vow the rules as promoting them, in order that they may speedily serve the Lord.

\*Cf. p. 97, above.

124<sup>v</sup> 8. The fact that religious are distinguished by divers titles is no affectation of sanctity. Just as there were in the Old Testament those who were called Nazarites, Rechabites, and Levites, etc. You would by no means rightly speak of orders of this sort as "sects," inasmuch as they are in no wise separated from the Catholic Church, but above the rest are bound by vows to keep God's precepts and the healthful counsels of the Church. Why doesn't Luther rebuke his followers and partners, for whom it is not enough to be called "Christians," but as schismatics call themselves by the new name "Evangelists" and thus cause division and schism from the Catholic Church?

1529 Schatzgeier has written at length on vows; See Dietenbergius and our One Hundred and Sixty Conclusions Concerning Vows and Chrysostom, On Matthew, Hom. 56, who also wrote three books in defense of monasticism.\* [That variety of rites, of ceremonies, of abstinences, of exercises, of habits, and other things of this kind, in divers orders of religion are established in preparation for departure or provide no obstacle thereto, these things clearly come from Christ their Savior through John the Baptist and the disciples of both. For he had a garment of camel's hair, and his food was locusts and wild honey, and he did not drink wine or strong drink [Mt 3:4]. But he used the common clothing, food and drink; hence it is said: "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, he has a devil" [Lk 7:33]. "The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say: Behold a man that is a glutton and a wine drinker, a friend of publicans and sinners" [Mt 11:18f]. Yet as the envious Jews judged concerning both of them rashly and perversely, so also do the impious heretics do concerning the religious. Let them restrain and correct their evil-speaking tongue babbling that their vows are diabolical figments, unless perchance, blinder than the blind Jews, they prefer to say that Christ, not as they, was a glutton, a wine-bibber and had a devil, when rather the very devil and his gospel assert not a divine but

\* Against the Adversaries of the Monastic Life (PG 47.319-386)



a diabolical doctrine. How obviously this follows from this heresy of theirs is clear from reasoning thus: the vows of the religious are diabolical figments. Yet Christ has counseled these in the Gospel; therefore Christ is the devil and his Gospel diabolical. The major premise is of the heretics; the minor of Christ and Paul, as is clear from the aforesaid. The conclusion follows syllogistically from the premises. Note into what great blasphemy these blasphemous heretics fall. But let this goal in their resisting be subsumed under the immediately inferred conclusion when this covenant is prosyllogized.\* To say that Christ is a devil and his Gospel diabolical, is impious, heretical and blasphemous, in fact there is nothing more impious, heretical and blasphemous. Accordingly, those who say that monastic vows are diabolical, are most impious heretics and most diabolical blasphemers. But religious votaries paying their vows to the Lord, highest Catholics and true evangelical Christians doing the same: their vows are pious, evangelical and truly Christian. Far be it from anyone to say they are impious and diabolical figments.]

\*To prosyllogize: to arrive at a conclusion that leads to another further conclusion.

CHAPTER 19  
CONCERNING THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY\*

125<sup>f</sup> Although Christ in the above chapter praised those who became eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of God [Mt 19:12], Paul accedes to virgins rejecting celibacy, something that Christ and Paul both despise. "A priest shall not take to wife a harlot and vile prostitute nor one who has been put away by her husband, because he is consecrated to his God and offers the loaves of the show-bread. Let him therefore be holy because I also am holy, the Lord who sanctifies you" [Lev 21:7f]. And today to those offering the living bread "which descends from heaven" [Jn 6:33, 59], Luther permits concubines and harlots to be taken in marriage.

Concerning the high priest: "He shall take a virgin as his wife, but a widow or one that is divorced, and defiled, and a harlot, he shall not take . . ." [Lev 21:13f].

"They shall not take as wife, a widow or one divorced, but virgins of the seed of the house of Israel. But they may take a widow also, that is, the widow of a priest" [Ez 44:22].

125<sup>v</sup> God had not commanded Moses in preparing for the reception of the law, that they not approach their wives, and yet Moses forbade them, saying: "Be ready for the third day and do not come near your wives" [Ex 19:15].

Abimilech said to David: "I have no common bread at hand, but only holy bread; if the young men be clean, especially from women," let them eat [1 K 21:4].

"But I would have you to be without solicitude. He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world, how he may please his wife and he is divided. And the unmarried woman and the virgin think

\*On clerical celibacy, see Gratian Decr. 1.26-33.<sup>1</sup>

on the things of the Lord that they may be holy both in body and in spirit" [1 Cor 7:32-34].

Paul warns the married that for a time they abstain from the marriage bed that they may be more open to prayer [1 Cor 7:5]. But priests ought perpetually to stand by their altars, and therefore perpetually to abstain from marriage.

"If anyone, after baptism, should be joined in a second marriage, 126<sup>r</sup> or have a concubine, he can be neither a bishop, nor a presbyter, or deacon, or even anyone of the number of those who serve in the sacred ministry" [Apostolic Canons, 17, in Gratian Decr. 1.33.1: Fr. 1.122].

It is fitting that bishops, presbyters and deacons, or those guardians of modesty who handle the sacraments, keep themselves from their wives. In Title III (the Council of Carthage V) it is said that we also are to guard that which the apostles taught and antiquity preserved [cf. Decr. 1.84.4: Fr. 1.296].

A presbyter who takes a wife, we decree that he ought to be deposed from his order, but if he should be a fornicator or should commit adultery let him be cast out of the church and do penance. Let a presbyter if he take a wife be deposed from the order (Council of Neo-Caesarea c. 1). [Decr. 1.28.9: Fr. 1.103]

Jerome, Against Vigilantius, inveighs against bishops who did not ordain deacons, unless they had previously taken wives, attributing chastity to no celibate person. On the contrary they should see those who have been evilly suspected of all things, showing how holily they live, and unless rejecting wives, etc., they do not dispense the sacraments of Christ. What will the churches of the East do, what will the churches of Egypt and of the Apostolic See do? For these churches accept either virgin or continent men as clerics, or, if they have wives, when these men cease to be husbands. 126<sup>v</sup>

More than 1300 years ago Pope Calixtus decreed, and we to this day utterly forbid to presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons and monks

the having of concubines or the contracting of marriage. [Gratian Decr. 1.27.8: Fr. 1.100]

Augustine [In Qu. V. & N.T., Q. 127]<sup>1</sup>: But perchance it may be said, if it is permitted, and is good to marry why is it not permitted to priests to have wives? Chrysostom, Hom. 21, pt. 4 to Theodore, the monk, disapproves of the marriage of notaries. Polycarp [Epist., 5]: "Virgins, walk in chaste conscience." Therefore there were then those persevering in virginity, just as Matthew consecrated Iphigenia.<sup>2</sup> Origen, Hom. 23 On Num.: "It seems to me that only to him is it given to offer sacrifice incessantly, who incessantly also has devoted himself to perpetual chastity."

127<sup>r</sup>

Objections of the Heretics.

1. The priests of the old law had wives.
2. The Greeks to this day and the Calabrians have wives.
3. "Increase and multiply" [Gen 1:22; 8:70; 9:7].
4. Paul foretold that some shall come giving heed to the spirits of error, who will forbid marriage [1 Tim 4:1, 3].
5. Paul bids Titus that he choose a man of one wife as bishop [Tit 1:6].
6. Chastity is free; traditions make it compulsory.
7. "It is better to marry than to burn" [1 Cor 7:9].
8. A vow of virginity is foolish because impossible, and the pope wishes to mortify the flesh by human traditions when he ought to have had recourse to the grace of God.
9. If you took a wife you have not sinned [1 Cor 7:36].

In these is the root of those things which that impure Jonas<sup>3</sup> blabbed against our Faber.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A pseudonymous work (PL 35).

<sup>2</sup>See above, p. 136

<sup>3</sup>Justus Jonas (1493-1555), Lutheran Reformer, humanist and translator.

<sup>4</sup>Johann Faber: see p. 30, above.

Reply of the Christian.

1. The first point Ambrose disposes of in his Commentary on the Epistles to Timothy. It was conceded to the old Levites and priests to take wives, because there was much leisure from ministry and priesthood. For there was a multitude of priests and each one used to serve at a definite time according to the practice laid down by David who established 24 classes of priests [1 Chr 24]. Later: "But now all ought to abstain from intercourse with women because it is necessary for them to be daily present in the church, without any leisure. And because only those of the tribe of Levi were accustomed to minister, on that account in order that they might be preserved through propagation they could not keep perpetual chastity; otherwise the ministers of the temple would become extinct. Accordingly on certain days those about to sacrifice under the old covenant were accustomed to abstain. And it came to pass that, as the days of their office were accomplished, they went back to their own houses and the priests of the Old Testament handled the show-bread, the flesh of goats, oxen, lambs, etc. Our priests handle the body and blood of Christ."

128<sup>r</sup>

2. The Greeks have wives, yet no priest among the Greeks took a wife but he who has taken a virgin as wife is duly ordained as priest. But if his wife dies he remains a widower. Therefore, a married man is made priest, but a priest is never made a married man. Hence from the time of the Savior's death it has not been heard that a priest took a wife except that now the little bold Lutherans rashly try this.

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3. God commanded this when the earth as well as heaven was to be filled: At that time there were few producing offspring; now there are innumerable ones. Hence that law is not concerning permanent things, whereby one reasons from the general to the particular. Otherwise John the Baptist would have sinned who remained a virgin; Mary would have sinned who espoused virginity; Paul would have sinned who counseled virginity; and Christ would not have praised eunuchs [Mt 19:12].

129<sup>r</sup>

Hence that precept also was confirmed by the Savior [Mt 19:10]; "What God has joined together let no man put asunder" was given to the whole multitude of men not to any one of the multitude, just as also the commandment to till the fields. For it is not fitting that some men, yet it is necessary that others, be farmers. Thus also it is not fitting that every individual man give up begetting, yet it is necessary that some men attend to propagation. So it is concerning many other things, needful indeed for the entire community. Yet it is not fitting that they be done by one and all, but it is enough that they be done by some.

4. The Church does not prohibit marriage but when some are bound by a vow, she prohibits the vow from being violated for before the vow one was free to marry, just as a married man is prohibited from contracting marriage; thus the Church does not wish one making a vow to transfer the power over his body to another, because it has been turned over to Christ. Such were the heretics whom Paul foretold, namely Marcion, Mani, and Tatian who condemned marriage.

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5. Paul does not command the bishop to be married, otherwise neither he nor Titus would have been bishops, but he did not want a bishop to be a bigamist. So Jerome and others. Hence the Church does not admit bigamy, on this point having been instructed by Paul. And thus Paul has described the measure within which the bishop should contain himself, that is, that he should not take a second wife.

Hence, although he who had many concubines, may be ordained as priest or bishop, still he who had many lawful wives, may not. The reason for this is that this institution is not on account of the representation of the sacrament. For the Bridegroom of the Church (whom the priest represents) is Christ, and the Church is one. "One is my dove" [Cant 6:9]. And on this account the Church does not permit bigamy. So speaks Augustine in his book On the Good of Marriage.



6. Chastity is free but enjoined upon the one who takes a vow, yet it does not oppose freedom of the spirit, but promotes it, for even God freely produces his Holy Spirit and of necessity.

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7. "It is better to marry than to burn" [1 Cor 7:9], but "it is good for a man not to touch a woman" [1 Cor 7:1 ]. The Apostle does not want him to burn who is tempted by the flesh, but he burns who is overcome by the flames of concupiscence; for him it would be better to marry than to wallow perpetually in filth. Say the contrary and you will make Paul into a one who married because he suffered from a thorn in the flesh [2 Cor 12:7]. I confess that it is difficult to remain continent, yet the kingdom of Heaven suffers violence, and the violent bear it away" [Mt 11:12]. We are all tempted by the flesh, "yet God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted beyond what we are able, but makes with the temptation also a way of escape that we may be able to bear it" [1 Cor 10:13].

8. You say that that vow is impossible. If you look to nature, many other things are impossible for us; if you look to God's assisting grace, nothing is impossible, because those to whom it is given can receive. Therefore the wise man says: "I know that I cannot otherwise be continent, unless God grant it; and this itself was wisdom: to know of whom the gift comes" [Wisd 8:21]. The heretic brings us a new sort of conquering the temptations of the flesh: so that we thus obey the desires of the flesh, contrary to all scriptures.

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9. \*Jerome answers: Paul is not speaking of a virgin who once for all dedicated herself to the service of God, but of her who is free [Against Jovinian, 1].

\*This does not seem to correspond to Obj. 9 of the heretics.

CHAPTER 20  
CONCERNING CARDINALS AND LEGATES OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE

Christ associated with himself twelve Apostles [Mt 10:1ff], seventy-two disciples [Lk 10:1]; he sent them where there was need.

"And he made that twelve should be with him, and that he might send them to preach" [Mk 3:14].

131<sup>r</sup> "After these things the Lord appointed also seventy-two others, and sent them two by two before his face into every city . . ." [Lk 10:1]. Thus the Pope provides himself with Cardinals to assist himself, and perchance in this regard there were Cardinal disciples before apostles. Bernard, writing to Eugenius: "These also continually assist you, elders of the people, judges of the earth, collaterals, coadjutors."

131<sup>v</sup> Isidore testifies that St. Peter in the city of Rome delegated for himself assisting priests and deacons. To assist him he took Linus, Cletus, and Clement. As the Church increased Linus consecrated 10 presbyters and 11 bishops. So also did Cletus, so Clement and so Anacletus. Evaristus first apportioned the titular churches, that is, the churches with the people in the city of Rome, among the presbyters, instituted 7 deacons to serve the Roman pontiff. Marcellus by increasing the number established 25 titular churches in the city, in order that they might suitably look after baptism and burial. In the primitive church only presbyters and deacons of the city of Rome were spoken of, yet afterwards the name of cardinals was conferred upon them as some histories wish to date under Pope Pontianus, others under Marcellus, others under Sylvester; others consider it to be a still more recent name. Hence they are accustomed to call St. Jerome a presbyter of the city of Rome, not a cardinal, although the Donation of Constantine<sup>\*</sup> indicates that the name of cardinals was more ancient, yet it cannot be rejected that Pope Stephen used that name when he decreed that no pontiff be elected except by cardinals [Decr. 1.79.3: Fr. 1.277]. I find,

\*A forgery, independently disproved by Nicholas of Cusa, Reginald Pecock (Repressor), and Laurentius Valla. Cf. p. 239, below.

moreover, that in the time of Pope Symachus and of Gregory II there were 64 titular churches in the city of Rome, that is, those of St. Laurence, St. Cecilia, Sixtus, Marcellus, Susanna, Anastasia, Mary across the Tiber, John and Paul, etc. To the Council of Nicea, Sylvester sent Hosius, bishop of Cordoba, Victor and Vincent, presbyters of the city of Rome; to the African council in which Augustine took part, Pope Zozimus sent Bishop Faustinus Potentianus, Phillip, and Asellus, presbyters of the city of Rome. In case of appellation concerning the deposition of a bishop, the Nicean Council decreed that the pope commit the case to two neighboring bishops or send from his side a presbyter. Note that legates a latere date from the time of the Council of Nicea 1200 years ago. Sylvester sent to the Council of Arles the presbyters Claudius and Habitus and the deacons Eugenius and Quinatus of the church of Rome.

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During the time of the martyrs they were accustomed to call legates apocrisarii, as for example, St. Fabianus Pope and St. Zephyrinus sent their apocrisarii to the East. Pope Leo sent to the Council of Chalcedon bishops Paschasius and Lucens and Boniface presbyter of the Roman church. Under Pope Agatho there were legates at the sixth council [Constantinople III], the presbyters Theodore and Gregory and John the deacon. At the seventh council [Nicea II] the legates were Peter the Presbyter and Peter the abbot of the monastery of St. Sabina. To the eighth council [Constantinople IV] were sent Donatus, Bishop of Ostia, Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus, Marinus Deacon of the Church of Rome, and Anastasius the very famous librarian. To the second Council of Ephesus Leo sent Bishop Julius, Hilary the Deacon, and Dulcitus the Prothonotary, although they did not want to go to the Synod, knowing the treachery of Dioscorus.

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To the Council of Serdica was sent Hosius of Cordova (the same one who was at the Council of Nicea) with Fortunianus of Aquileia and Vincent of Capua. At the Council of Frankfort-am-Main, the presiding legates of the Apostolic See were Bishops Theophylactus and Stephen, when the Felician heresy was condemned, which forbade the use of images in the Church. You will find these matters more deeply dealt with in our book, On the Primacy of Peter, 3.19.

CHAPTER 21  
CONCERNING EXCOMMUNICATIONS<sup>1</sup>

Christ instituted the power of excommunication, speaking of brotherly correction; after other things he says: "Tell the Church. If then he does not hear the Church, let him be to you as a Gentile and a publican" [Mt 18:17].

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[T\*

Here it is very clear that excommunication is done by the authority of Christ, especially by those words which he adds, saying, "Amen, I say to you. Whatever you shall bind on earth (the Gloss has it: by the bond of anathema) shall be bound also in heaven" [Mt 18:18]. On this Chrysostom says, "See how he bound by two-fold necessities, and the penalty which is given here, namely casting out of the church. Let him be to you as a gentile and publican and by a future punishment which is to be bound in heaven.

Augustine, On John 27.2 [Decr. 2.11.3.33, Fr. 1.653]: "A Christian ought to fear nothing else than to be separated from the body of Christ. For if he is separated from the body of Christ, he is not a member thereof; if he is not a member thereof, he will not be quickened by the spirit thereof. But whoever, says the Apostle, does not have the spirit of God, he is not of him [Rom 8:9]."

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Jerome: "Whose sins you forgive [cf. Mt 18:18], etc., will be retained, that is, those to whom you interdict the Church, unless they be reconciled by satisfaction, to him also will be closed the gates of the kingdom of heaven."

T]

"I indeed absent in body, but present in spirit, have already judged, as though I were present, him who has so done, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, you being gathered together and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus; to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ" [1 Cor 5:3-5].

\*T = Tilmann

Know that in the primitive church, when it was fitting through signs to invite men to faith, just as a gift of the Holy Spirit was manifested by a visible sign, so also excommunication became known by bodily vexation by the Devil.

Augustine, On the Words of the Apostle, Sermon 68 (or 69) [Decr. 2.11.3.32, Fr. 1.653]: "Every Christian, most beloved, who is excommunicated by the priests, is turned over to Satan. How? Because obviously the devil is outside the Church, just as Christ is in the Church, and through this as he is turned over to the devil who is removed from churchly communion. Hence those whom the Apostle then proclaims to have been turned over to Satan, he demonstrates to have been excommunicated by himself."

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See how bad excommunication is, because on the day of preparation the Church prays for the Jews and pagans, but not for the excommunicated.

"Some have made shipwreck concerning the faith, of whom is Hymenaeus and Alexander, whom I have delivered up to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme" [1 Tim 1:19f].

Paul recalls this power: "Shall I come to you with a rod or in charity, and in the spirit of meekness?" [1 Cor 4:21].

"Therefore I write these things, being absent, that being present, I may not deal more severely according to the power which the Lord has given me for edification, and not for destruction" [2 Cor 13:10].

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"If any man love not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema, maranatha (that is, in the advent of the Lord)" [1 Cor 16:22].

"But if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man and do not keep company with him, that he may be ashamed" [2 Thess 3:14]. Peter not only excommunicated Ananias and Saphira for cheating on the price of a field, but also condemned them with

a sentence of death [Acts 5:1ff] . From this it is clear that it is permitted to the church to excommunicate for temporal losses.

Augustine, Questions on the Old Testament, Q. 39, On Deuteronomy:<sup>1</sup> "Now in the church of God excommunication does that which in the Old Testament one reads that killing did."

Origen, On Judges, Hom 2 [Gratian Decr. 2.11.3.21: Fr. 1.648f ] :  
 "Not only through the Apostles did God hand over transgressors into the hand of their enemies, but also through those who preside over the church, and have the power not only of loosing, but also of binding, do they hand over sinners to death of the flesh, when for their transgressions they are separated from the body of Christ; it follows afterward, how men are doubly handed over into the power of the Devil."

Ambrose, On the Psalms, Ps. 118, Sermon 8 [cf. Gratian Decr. 2.23.4.33: Fr. 1.915] speaking of excommunication adds: "Rightly therefore ought the priest like a good physician to excise the wound, lest it spread more widely through the whole body of the church, and bring to light the virus of the crime which lurks within."

"If any man come to you and bring not this doctrine, do not receive him into the house or say to him, Hail. For he who says to him, Hail, communicates with his wicked works" 2 Jn v. 10 . I have written to you, not to keep company with fornicators, greedy persons, grasping ones or servants of idols" [1 Cor 5:11] . Later: "With such a one, do not so much as eat" [Ibid] . Note: excommunication.

"Avoid a man who is a heretic after the first or second admonition" [1 Tim 3:10] . Here you have it that heretics will be excommunicated.

#### Objections of the Heretic.

1. Excommunication is not a penalty, but a declaration, because anyone excommunicates himself through sin, and afterwards the judge declares him to be excommunicated.

2. Excommunication is remedial [Sext. Decretal. 5.9.1: Fr. 2.1093f] . \* Accordingly, it is not to be feared but welcomed.

\*Innocent IV, Council of Lyons.

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Response of the Catholic.

[Foreward of Tilmann.]

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1. [For the understanding of the solution of this argument, know that excommunication is the separation from the communion of the church with respect to fruit and general suffrages. In the first the import is the separation from the sacraments. But in the second it is separation from the communion of the faithful with respect to spiritual things. For it is said that excommunication is the separation from any lawful communion of the faithful. But the communion of the faithful is three-fold. The first is extrinsic in at one and the same time praying in the church, in masses, and in divine offices, and in the deprivation of this communication, excommunication does not only consist. The second is intrinsic through the charity uniting the members of Christ through formed faith to Christ as head and to the rest of his members, concerning which the Psalm says, "I am a partaker with all those who fear thee" [Ps 118:63]. And sin, not excommunication, takes this away. The third is at one and the same time extrinsic and intrinsic communion according to the common suffrages, which have been carried on in the church since its establishment, as in masses and other prayers, denominated in the creed as "the communion of saints." And excommunication removes this and substitutes the removed communion of the saints through charity.] And excommunication is the penalty inflicted either by law or by man, and not only a declaration of penalty, for clearly Paul indicates that the Corinthian man was not turned over to the devil, but was to be turned over to the devil [1 Cor 5:5]. Now his statement that any man actually excommunicates himself through sin, is true by lesser excommunication, but, although it deprives man of divine grace, he still remains, as sinner, united to the Church and joined with the mystical body of the Church as a dried-up member; yet in greater excommunication he is excised from the body. Not that he is by means of the Church,

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and  
1532136<sup>v</sup>

because so long as he holds the true faith he is in the church, but because he is deprived of participation in the suffrages of the Church--something appropriate for a man either from the force of charity, or from the intention of the Church (with the general will that her merits accord with all her members not cut off).

137<sup>r</sup> And Origen, in his second Homily on Judges, recalls this double excommunication. Moreover, if through sin anyone should turn himself over to the devil, yet through the sentence laid down by man or by law, the devil still receives the greater power over him. This is clear concerning Judas, whom the devil first invaded after he had thought about betraying Christ. "But Satan entered into Judas (says Luke) . . . and he went, and spoke with the chief priests," etc. [Lk 22:3f]. And John says: "When . . . the devil had put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, to betray him," etc. [Jn 13:2]. Yet afterward once more "he entered into him" [Jn 13:27], and the devil possessed him, as the same John says. "And when he had dipped the bread, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, and after the morsel, Satan entered into him" [Jn 13:26f].

137<sup>v</sup> 2. Excommunication is remedial, but only if it is not despised, for it is called "remedial" from its end, because it is ordained to the end that a man repent and amend himself, and satisfy the Church. No one moreover will prefer excommunication, except an obstinate person who would rather be turned over to Satan, than to serve Christ, and wishes to be considered as a pagan and a publican by the Church. Hence Gregory says [Hom. in Ev. 26, quoted in Decr. 2.11.3.1: Fr. 1.642]: "The judgment of a pastor, whether just or unjust, is to be feared. Far be it from any judgment to be loved!"

CHAPTER 22  
CONCERNING THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS\*

Under an existing reasonable cause, Christians can wage war against Turks and heretics.

"And soldiers also asked him, saying, And we, what must we do? And he said to them, Strike no man, commit no calumny, and be content with your wages" [Lk 3:14]. It is clear that he did not forbid war, but set a limit on those who fight.

"Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but from God" [Rom 13:1]. Later: "But if you do evil, fear; for he bears not the sword in vain. For he is God's minister, 138<sup>r</sup> an avenger to execute wrath upon him who does evil" [Rom 13:4]. Hence the sons of Israel not without fighting obtained the promised land given to them by God, as is clear in the books of Joshua, Judges, and Kings. On the contrary, the Lord God willed them to wage continuous war against the infidel. Hence it is said in the book of Judges: "These are the nations which the Lord left, to instruct Israel in them, and all who did not know the wars of the Canaanites; afterwards that their children might know how to fight against the foe, and have practice in battle" [Jdg 3:1f].

"Cursed be he who keeps back his sword from blood" [Jer 48:10].

The whole Old Testament is full of how, by the commandment and help of God, the Jews not only resisted the infidel, but also Abraham, Moses and Joshua invaded them. "Thus says the Lord of hosts" (Samuel is speaking to Saul). "I have reckoned up all that 138<sup>v</sup> Amalek has done to Israel, how he opposed them in the way when they came up out of Egypt. Now therefore go, and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that he has. Spare him not, and do not covet anything that is his, but slay both man and woman, child and suckling, ox and camel and ass" [1 K 15:2f]. Who now was the counselor of the Lord or who knew his mind, seeing that now is the time that he wills

\*Cf. Luther, Argument in Defense of the Articles of Martin Luther (1520), 34.

to punish the Turks by Christians, just as he punished the Amalekites by the Jews.

139<sup>r</sup> The Maccabees urged one another, saying: "If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not against the Gentiles for our souls and our justifications, they will the more quickly destroy us from the earth. And they took counsel on that day, saying, Every man who shall come to us on the Sabbath day, let us fight against him, and we will not all die as our brothers died. And they gathered the army and they struck the sinners in their wrath and the evil men with their indignation" [1 Macc 2:40-43]. Thus also we Christians unless we fight against the Turk, the most savage enemy of the cross of Christ, he will the more speedily destroy us, and wipe out the name of Christ from the earth--something these brawlers seem to desire, with their lies to the effect that fighting against the Turk is fighting against the Gospel of Christ.

1529 "Judas Maccabeus rose up, and all his brethren helped him and all those who had joined themselves to his father, and they fought with cheerfulness the battle of Israel, and he got his people great honor" [1 Macc 3:1-3]. [From this it is clear that it is lawful to fight for the defense of the state.]

"We will fight for our lives and our laws and the Lord Himself will overthrow them" (that is, the Gentiles) "before our face" [1 Macc 3:21f].

139<sup>v</sup> "Simon went into Galilee and fought many battles with the Gentiles" [1 Macc 5:21]. Simon said: "You know what great battles I and my brothers, and the house of my father, have fought for the laws, and the sanctuary. . ." [1 Macc 13:3]. Therefore it is most holy and most just to fight against the infidel Turks and against those heretics more ungodly than the infidel Turks themselves, on behalf of the Church's faith, the preservation of divine worship, on behalf of the welfare of the poor and the defense of the oppressed. Gird yourselves, therefore, O Christian princes, and be

powerful sons, and be prepared to fight against these ungodly nations which have gathered together to destroy us and our sanctuaries, since it is better that we die in war, than see the misfortunes of our people and of the saints.

Augustine, Epistle 194 to Count Boniface: "I shall give you and yours some useful advice, take up arms, let the prayer of your author strike your ears." And again to the same man: "Do not think that no one can please God who ministers with warlike arms, for in these was David holy, on whom the Lord bestowed great testimony."

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And Against Faustus (22. ): "The natural order of mortals accommodated to peace demands this, that the authority and the counsel to undertake war be in the hands of the princes; it is said to the princes: "Rescue the poor; and deliver out of the hand of the sinner" [Ps 81:4]." Why then should they not liberate from the hand of the Turk, paying especial attention to the fact that he forcibly magnifies and extols the worship of his Mohammed to the injury of our Creator, and that he carries off a third offspring, pleasing to him, to rear in the Mohammedan rite in everlasting bondage? Hence the Most Glorious Charles, Geoffrey, Alphonse, Ferdinand, and other destroyers of the infidel are praised with celebrated renown throughout the Christian world. See Tome 1, Third Sunday after Epiphany, Homily 5.

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#### Objections of the Heretic.

1. To fight against the Turks is to oppose the will of the Spirit, visiting our iniquities through them.

2. The Christian fights by prayer, not by the sword.

3. In Matthew 5:39ff defending oneself is forbidden: "Let us not oppose those who use force against us" [cf. Mt 5:41].

#### Response of the Catholic.

Now very many heretics, as for example Oecolampadius, deny completely that Christians are permitted to fight. This was the

Manichaeans' heresy, as Augustine, Against Faustus, [22.75f] teaches, and also on the Sermon on the Mount, [cf. Ch. 20] but let us reply.

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1. Even if God should visit our iniquities upon us through the Turk, still through this he does not hinder us from our own defense; otherwise when he visits us with famine, plague, fire, wars, and diseases, any provision for us against famine, any remedy against diseases, any refuge against plague would be out of keeping with such visitations. For God so visits his own people as not to forsake them. "I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with stripes. But my mercy I will not take away from him, nor will do harm to my truth" [Ps 88:33f].

2. I admit that a righteous warrior strikes God with prayers yet let him take arms in hand with Judas Maccabeus, "For when Moses was praying on the mountain, Amalek was conquered by the sword of Joshua" [Ex 17:10f]. Let those who remain at home pray; let others bear arms against the Turks.

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3. Out of the counsels and works of the perfect the Lutherans make commandments and since the Lutherans are so bitter that they cannot bear the Catholics' words, even pious ones, these servants of iniquity desire that we should suffer the lashes of the Turks, desolation of temples, the violation of virgins, etc. "For the things that he teaches there he enjoins for the preparation of the heart, not for the showing of works," says Augustine. It ought rather to be hoped after so many tribulations and calamities of Christianity with the loss of two empires and thirty-six kingdoms that God at last should take pity on us and that we should sing joyfully.

"O daughter of the Turk, miserable; blessed he who repays thee by payment, which thou hast paid us" [Ps 136:8, alt]. See Hom 5, Tome 3, On the War against the Turks.



CHAPTER 23  
CONCERNING THE IMMUNITY AND WEALTH OF THE CHURCH

Ecclesiastical immunity and freedom are shown. Pharaoh, the Gentile King of Egypt, preserved immunity for the priests. "For Joseph bought all the land of Egypt, and subjected it to Pharaoh, and all its peoples, except the land of the priests which had been transferred to them by the king, to whom was also furnished a stated supply of food from the public storehouses. And for that reason they are not compelled to sell their possessions" [Gen 47:2-24]. And later: "From that time unto the present day, in the whole land of Egypt the fifth part is paid to the king and it has become as a law, except the land of the priests, which was free from this agreement" [Gen 47:26].

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Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, granting to the children of Israel the right freely to return with Esdras to Jerusalem on behalf of the liberty of the priests and of the ministers and temple set forth a decree in these words: "I Artaxerxes have determined and decreed to all guardians of the public chest, who are beyond the river, that whatever Esdras the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, you give it without delay" etc. [1 Esdr 7:21]. And later: "We give you also to understand concerning all the priests and the Levites and the singers and the porters and the Nathinites and the ministers of the house of this God, that you have no authority to impose toll or tribute or custom upon them" [1 Esdr 7:24]. On this, the Glossa Ordinaria, which is by Bede, states [PL 113.708c]: "By this privilege it is shown that the rest of the people of the children of Israel upon reaching the fatherland, were to pay tribute to the king, which the king is known to have done by a separate provision so that those who were continually occupied with divine service would be free from serving him, and those who possess nothing of their own in the land but live from the tithes of the people, from them no one might exact tribute." Note that here are two kings, both of them

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Gentiles. One was zealous for the liberty of the priests of idols, but the other for the liberty of the Jewish priests and the lawful ministers. And now some Christian princes and rulers of cities levy, exact and strip priests of Christ and poor ministers of the word of God and endeavor to cast them into extreme bondage.

Joshua allotted cities to the priests and Levites just as the Lord had commanded by Moses [Joshua 21:8; Num 35:2].

Likewise, priests and Levites had tithes, first-born, first-fruits, portions from victims, from oblations and from sacrifices, by God's ordaining and bidding, for the ministry with which they daily served in the tabernacle of the testimony [Lev 27; Num 18].

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"Joaz said to the priests: All the money of the sanctified things, which was brought into the temple of the Lord by those who pass, which is offered for the price of a soul, and which of their own accord, and of their own free heart, they bring into the temple of the Lord, let the priests take it according to their order . . ." [4 K 12:4f]. Hezekiah ". . . commanded the people dwelling in Jerusalem, to give to the priests and Levites their portion, that they might attend to the law of the Lord" [2 Ch 31:4]. Because also the people did so abundantly, the king "commanded storehouses to be prepared in the house of the Lord," [2 Ch 31:11], where fruits might be received, etc.

Christ had Judas as steward, who "had the purse" [Jn 13:29], and "carried the things that were put therein" [Jn 12:6].

"Joanna the wife of Chusa, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who ministered to him of their substance" [Lk 8:3].

Christ taught the immunity of the priests. "What is your opinion, Simon?" said Christ. "The kings of the earth, of whom do they receive tribute. . . of their own children, or of strangers? Peter said to him, Of strangers. Christ said to him, Then the children are free?" [Mt 17:24f].

"Who serves as soldier for any time at his own pay? Who plants a vineyard and does not eat of the fruit thereof?" [1 Cor 9:7]. Later: "It is written in the law of Moses: You shall not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treads out the corn" [1 Cor 9:9]. Later: "If we have sown for you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things." [1 Cor 9:11]. Later: "Do you not know that they who work in the holy place, eat the things that are of the holy place? And they who serve the altar, partake with the altar? So also the Lord ordained that those who preached the Gospel should live by the Gospel" [1 Cor 9:13f].

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"It behooves a bishop to be blameless, the husband of one wife, sober, equipped, prudent, modest, hospitable" etc. [1 Tim 3:2]. How could he be hospitable if he had nothing?

"For as many as were owners of lands or houses, sold them and brought the price of the things they sold, and laid it down before the feet of the Apostles" [Acts 4:34f]. Hence in the primitive church it was customary to make a collection for the support of the clergy. When they were in need they were relieved by benefices.

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"Princes, be subject to Caesar, soldiers to the princes, deacons to the presbyters: as to ministers of sacred things. But let presbyters and deacons, and all the clergy together with all the people, be subject to the soldiers and the princes; but also let the Caesars be obedient to the bishop, the bishop to Christ, even as Christ is to the Father. So is unity preserved through all things" [Ignatius, To the Philadelphians]. Likewise: "The priesthood is the highest of all goods which abide among men, but if anyone should dishonor it, he dishonors God, and the First-Born of all creation" [Ignatius, To the Smyrnaeans].

"Do not touch my anointed, and do not evil to my prophets" [Ps 104:15].

"Who shall put forth his hand against the Lord's anointed?" [1 K 26:9]. This he says also concerning the anointing of the king; what then of the anointing of the priests?

145<sup>r</sup>

Gregory to Cyriacus, Bishop of Constantinople: "Whoever is in a place of governance sometimes has need also of pondering earthly matters, and taking care of external matters so that the flock committed to him may be strong, and of continuing in those things which he is to fulfill. From pastors the law has increased in royal majesty, from fishermen the Gospel has increased in imperial majesty."

And in Gregory's letters at various points are found letters concerning the administration of temporal matters. Hence also at that time he had regional prefects in Sicily and the province, so that it is manifest also that at the time of Gregory there was the patrimony of St. Peter.

145<sup>v</sup>

In the Epistle of Clement [Decr. 2.11.1.32: Fr. 1.635]<sup>1</sup> "If any of the fathers have business among themselves, let them not be judged among the defenders of this world, but among the presbyters of the Church; whatever there is, let it be separated, and let them by all means obey their statutes."

The Council of Carthage [AD 419, c. 31: Decr. 1.74.4: Fr. 1.262]: "It was decided that each clergyman seek cognizance of public matters from the Emperor, lest he be deprived of his own honor."

Pope Gaius the Martyr (283-296) [Gratian Decr. 2.11.1.1: Fr. 1.626f] decreed: "let not laymen bring before the secular judge those initiated in sacred things."

Dionysius to Demophilus,<sup>2</sup> On the Correction of the Bishop: "Yet if anyone by lot should deviate among them from the right path, let him be corrected by his peers and the holy men of his rank, so that it will not happen that one rank merges with another and mixes up everything, but each one remains in his own office."

Origen who lived during the time of the martyrs, when there were still pagan emperors, in his Commentary on Luke explains the subjection of the presbyter to the bishop, just as Jesus was subject to his parents [Homilies on Luke, 20].

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Isidore

<sup>2</sup> Dionysius of Alexandria, Epist. (PG 10.1269-72)

Julian the Apostate, adversary against Christ, withdrew from the clergy all privileges and honors, which the most godly Catholic emperors, Constantine, Theodosius, Marcian, Valentinian, and other religious-minded princes decreed. Because these matters are obvious to all (Chapters "On Most Holy Churches," and "On Clergy and Bishops"), we shall put off referring to them until later. 146<sup>r</sup>

The Emperor Constantine in the Council of Nicea would not receive written accusations against the bishops; he said: "You are gods appointed by the true God; go, and settle your dispute among yourselves, for it is not worthy that we judge gods" [Gratian Decr. 2.23.8.22, 24; Fr 1.961f].

Peter the prince of the Apostles did not oppose the charges. Ambrose on the first Letter of Paul to the Corinthians, c. 9.

The Constitution of the Emperor Frederick, chapter concerning bishops and clergy [Sext. Decr. 5.11.3: Fr. 2.1094]. "We have determined that no one may presume to hale an ecclesiastical person in a criminal or civil suit before the secular tribunal, against imperial constitutions and canonical sanctions, but if a plaintiff should do so, let him be deprived of his legal right, let judgment not be held, and the judge is then and there to be deprived of his office of judging. Guard against those who wrongly drive the clergy to the secular tribunal." 146<sup>v</sup>

It is clear therefore from the aforesaid that the most just excommunications are brought against offenders against ecclesiastical freedom, by their own unjust decisions oppressing and making demands on the clergy; as against those who sin both against the law of nature, against the divine law of both Testaments, and against human law, civil and canon.

#### Objection of the Heretic.

Christ allowed himself to be judged by the lay judge Pilate, and furnished evidence to him, because he had power over him from above. Therefore Christian priests ought not to flee from lay judges. 147<sup>r</sup>

The Reply of the Catholic.

You are attempting something remarkable in asserting that all Christian judges are Pilates and Herods. Christ clearly cast the sin before Pilate, because he who had betrayed him had a greater sin. But his statement that Pilate has the power from above, if it be referred to God, is to be understood permissively: God has permitted this to Pilate, for "He was offered because he so willed" [Is 53:7], if the heretic did not intend to apply it to Caesar.



CHAPTER 24  
ON INDULGENCES \*

Because indulgences<sup>1</sup> are merely penalties of satisfaction owed for sins, let us show that merit and satisfaction are two different things.

147<sup>v</sup>

On the merit of Christ it is said: "On this account God exalted him, and gave him a name which is above all names" [Phil 2:9]. Note what he merited for himself. On his satisfaction, it is said: "This is the cup of the New Testament in my blood" [Lk 22:20], "which is given for you for forgiveness of sins" [Mt 26:28]. Note what he merited for us.

On the person offering the victims for sins it is said: " . . . and the priest praying for them, the Lord will be merciful unto them" [Lev 4:20]. How can one be freed not from guilt but from punishment save through intercession?

[Thesis of Tilmann]

1529  
and  
1532

Know here that the treasury of indulgences is made from the superabundance of merits (insofar as they were capable of making satisfaction) of Christ and the saints. Concerning the superabundance of Christ's sufferings for us, it is said: "He is the propitiation for our sins, not for ours only however, but for those of the whole world" [1 Jn 2:2]. From this authority it is clear that the passion of Christ sufficiently satisfies for the whole world, and through this since it satisfies exsecutively only for a few, the infinite treasury of Christ's satisfaction abounds in the sacraments, by which the same passion of Christ satisfies. Concerning the superabundance of sufferings and merits of the saints, for the office of satisfying for us, Job's statement is clear: "O that my sins were weighed, for which I deserved wrath, and the calamity which I suffer in the balances appeared heavier than the sand of the sea" [Job 6:2f]. From these words of Job

\*At the Leipzig Debate (1519), one of the topics of the third week, between Eck and Luther. Also, Baden Disputation (1526), Proposition 5: "After this life there is a purgatory."

it is clear that he suffered more than he ought to have suffered for his sins. In superabundance of sufferings consists superabundance of satisfactions. The same thing is very clear concerning many saints. But concerning the intention of the saints, what indeed they wished to suffer or what they willingly suffered, not only for themselves, but also for us, the Apostle attests:] "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up those things that are wanting in the sufferings of Christ, in my flesh, for his body, which is the Church" [Col 1:24].

148<sup>r</sup>

Ponder, O Catholic, that the miseries of the saints are to be added to the sufferings of Christ for the common usefulness of the Church. And it is this treasury of merits of which the Church speaks: the prayers and merits of the saints. For what Paul filled up, who will deny of other saints, bearing Christ's cross, and following him? That the pope dispenses this treasure is clear from the Apostle's statement: "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of His ministries" [1 Cor 4:1]. Likewise, "A dispensation is committed to me" [1 Cor 9:17]. Likewise: "To whom you have pardoned anything, I also" [2 Cor 2:10]. He did not pardon guilt but punishment. "For what I have pardoned, if I have pardoned anything, for your sakes have I done it in the person of Christ" [2Cor 2:10].

148<sup>v</sup>

It is certain that Gregory the Great gave indulgences nine hundred years ago and this observance was maintained afterwards throughout the whole church. The heretics wonder, that the Pope remits a third or half part of punishments, or gives a plenary indulgence. Since these heretics are not ashamed to assert that any priest absolves from guilt and punishment, they remit the whole punishment, and do not wish the Pope to remit a part thereof.

The Jubilees in the Old Testament were the figure of indulgences of the Gospel [Lev c. 25].

Concerning these we are content, because we have a solid foundation in St. Paul, lest we be thought more diligent in a

profitable case. Now that the Church has received, believed, and held all things, how could there be anything erroneous in her faith? The whole Church, spread over the whole earth, received indulgences from the time of Gregory the Great (except for what in a few crannies of heretics they began elsewhere to reject). And general councils approved them, as for example that most celebrated holy Lateran Council (IV) under Innocent III, in which that most salutary constitution Omnis utriusque [Decr. Greg. IX, 5.38.12: Fr. 2.887f] was promulgated; that council limited the authority of minor prelates in granting of indulgences. And the holy Council of Vienne approved the indulgences of Urban IV [Const. Clem. V, 3.16.1: Fr. 2.1174f], for the veneration of the venerable Eucharist. And every church of the Germans, French, Spanish, Italians, English, Hungarians, Poles, Transylvanians, Scots, and others, reverently accepted the Jubilees in Rome, celebrated by the Pontiffs, with plenary indulgences.

149<sup>r</sup>

## [Appendix of Tilmann.]

1529  
and  
1532

Indulgences are beneficial for souls in purgatory, because there is no reason why the Church can transfer the common merits of Christ and the saints, upon whom rest indulgences to the living, and not to the dead as well, who dying in love, since obstacles hindering their access to the Kingdom of Heaven have not yet been removed, are detained in purgatory. But the pope applies indulgences to them not with the authority to absolve, but by way of suffrage.\* And therefore he cannot at pleasure free souls from purgatory, or empty purgatory.

The adversaries among other arguments raise this Achillic objection (thinking it invincible): if the merits of Christ are infinite, nevertheless the merits of the saints which are most fully paid out are in no wise so. On the contrary they are ultra condignum since "the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed in us"

\*per modum suffragii: "An act done by way of suffrage depends for its efficacy on God's response to the prayer that accompanies it . . ." (Attwater, A Catholic Dictionary, p. 507)

[Rom 3:18]. Therefore the merits of the saints cannot be applied to us through the treasury of indulgences.

It must be said that, just as the works of Christ were at one and the same time meritorious and capable of making satisfaction, he merited indeed for himself and for us: for himself, because through the humiliation of his passion he merited the glory of the resurrection, in accordance with the passage: "He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death on the cross, for which cause God has exalted him" etc. [Phil 2:8f]; he merited for us since, "If by the offense of one many died, much more the grace of God, and the gift, by the grace of one man, Jesus Christ, has abounded unto many" [Rom 5:15]. And later: "Therefore just as by one man's offense, unto all men condemnation, so also by the justice of one, unto all men to justification of life" etc. [Rom 5:18]. He has made satisfaction not for his own sins, because he has not committed sin, nor has deceit been found in his mouth, but for our sins, as is clear from many scriptural passages. "For he was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins" [Is 53:5]. And a little later: "All we like sheep have gone astray . . . And the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all" [Is 53:6]. "Christ has delivered himself for us, a sacrifice and oblation to God, for an odor of sweetness" [Eph 5:2]. "He bore our sins in his body upon the tree" [1 Pt 2:24]. "He is the propitiation for our sins" etc. [1 Jn 2:2]. So also are we to understand concerning the works and sufferings of the saints. These insofar as they were meritorious, we admit with the Apostles were paid out ultra condignum, but insofar as they were capable of making satisfaction or were penal, it is well known that innumerable saints made far more satisfaction, or suffered far more, than they ought to have done for their sins, as is clear concerning Job [Job 5] and the Apostle [Col 1]; and not only for themselves, but for the body of Christ which is the Church, this remainder of satisfaction and of suffering is applied to us through the treasury of indulgences which yields to the greatest glory of

the saints. Hence when it happens, (for example) that the excess satisfaction of Laurence pays for the penitent John the penalty owed, Laurence will have in heaven a certain accidental joy over the fact that his satisfaction has paid for John. Thus the works of the saints, insofar as they are capable of making satisfaction and are penal, pay to the saints themselves also twice by their having been applied through indulgences.]

CHAPTER 25  
ON PURGATORY\*

The existence of Purgatory is sufficiently established from Scripture, the Church, and the fathers.

149<sup>v</sup>

"If any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, rubble, every man's work shall be manifest, for the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in fire; and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is . . . If any man's work shall burn, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire" [1 Cor 3:12-15].<sup>1</sup> This evidently applies to a person who does combustible works, too little as it were in the day of judgment of each particular one, yet he is saved by fire, not the fire of hell, because in hell there is no redemption. So did St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory and Alcuin understand this passage of Paul.

150<sup>r</sup>

"Make agreement with your accuser while you are on the way with him, lest perchance your accuser deliver you to the judge, and the judge deliver you to the officer, and you be cast into prison" [Mt 5:25; Lk 12:58].<sup>2</sup> "Amen I say to you, you shall not go out from there until you repay the last farthing" [Mt 5:26; Lk 12:59]. St. Ambrose understands this prison to be purgatory.

"He who shall speak against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come" [Mt 12:32].

St. Gregory [Dial., 4.9] weighs these words and says: "This fire is to be understood as applying to certain sins to be purged before judgment, for the reason that the Truth says: 'He who shall speak against the Holy Spirit,' etc., in which sentence one is given to understand, whatsoever guilt is loosed in this world, the same will be loosed in the world to come" [Decr. 1.25.4 Fr. 1.94; cf. Aug., DCD, 21.24].

\*Cf. Leipzig Disputation (1519), one of the topics of the third week, between Eck and Luther. Also, Baden Disputation (1526), Proposition 5: "After this life there is a purgatory."



So also did Bernard, On the Canticles, Sermon 66.11\* [PL 183.1100, citing Mt 12:32] understand it: "In ancient times the living were aroused by musical instruments to lamentation and compassion toward the deceased, that they might eagerly pray for them. Otherwise to mourn would be sheer insanity."

"Lay out your bread and your wine upon the burial of a just man," [Tobit 4:18] so that the poor, fed therefrom, may pray to the Lord for the salvation of the deceased. 150<sup>v</sup>

"And making a gathering, Judas Maccabeus sent twelve thousand drachmas of silver to Jerusalem for sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead, thinking well and religiously concerning the resurrection, (for if he had not hoped that they who had fallen should rise again it would have been superfluous to pray for the dead)" etc. [2 Macc 12:43f]. Holy therefore and salubrious is the thought, to pray on behalf of the dead in order that they may be released from sin [2 Macc 12:46]. This book is in the canon of the Church as the prologue prefixed to it testifies, as well as St. Augustine DCD 18, and the canon of the Council of Carthage, although it was not among the canonical books held among the Jews as St. Jerome attests in his Galeatus Prologus.<sup>1</sup> It follows that one who denies that the books of the Maccabees are canonical is not a son of the Church but a bastard of the synagogue. And in the Leipzig disputation Luther admitted to me that he knew there is a purgatory. Likewise, Article 37, Assertionum:<sup>2</sup> "I," he says, "both believe purgatory exists, and advise and persuade others that it should be believed in." How then is it that the Holy Spirit has not revealed in the Scriptures a thing of such great importance as purgatory? 151<sup>r</sup>

The Greeks knew this heresy and abjured it at the Council of Florence.

"In the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of those who are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth" [Philip 2:10].\*\*

<sup>1</sup>Jerome's preface in which he defends himself.

<sup>2</sup>Argument in Defense of Articles of Martin Luther (1521), 37. ET: PE 3.111: "I have never yet denied that there is a purgatory, and I still hold that there is, as I have many times written and confessed, though I have no way of proving it incontrovertibly, either by Scripture or by reason."

It is obvious, then (how much this pertains to us!) that those "under the earth" are in hell, because they do not bow their knee to the name of Jesus, but rather straightway blaspheme against him; since the pride of those who hate God ever rises up, therefore those who bow their knee are in purgatory.

151<sup>v</sup>

"And every creature, which is in heaven and on earth, and under the earth, and the sea, and what are in them, I heard all saying: To him who sits in the throne, and to the Lamb, blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, for ever and ever" [Rev 5:13]. Here he sets forth a threefold order of those who praise God, namely, of the blessed in heaven, of the righteous on earth, and of those to be purged under the earth, because the condemned do not praise God, nor do they bless Him seated on His throne.

Augustine, On the Care of the Dead, approves making suffrages for the dead, on the authority of the Church. He speaks as follows: "In the Second Book of the Maccabees we read that a sacrifice was offered for the dead. But if nowhere at all in the old scriptures one read of this, it is no slight authority of the Church universal (which is clear on this custom), where in the prayers of the priests who are poured out to the Lord God on his altar, commendation of souls also has its place." Such suffrages Monica, the mother of Augustine, petitioned from the sacrifice of the altar [Conf. 9.13].

152<sup>r</sup>

St. Ambrose, On the Death of Theodosius, comments on why in the Church of God the first, seventh and thirtieth day of the deceased is observed [Gratian Decr. 2.13.2.24: Fr. 1.729].

John of Damascus affirms that the custom of praying for the dead has come down from the traditions of the Apostles.

Augustine, On the Questions of Dulcitius, Q. 1, testifies to purgatory. Chrysostom in one of his own sermons makes suffrages to benefit the dead. Dionysius, Ecclesiastical Hierarchies 74 [PG 3.559f] says: "The most holy tradition of Scripture teaches us that the prayers of the righteous, even while

they are living (and not to speak of after death), benefit those alone who are worthy." "Approaching then (that is, when the corpse is hidden within the temple) the venerable bishop gives his prayer over the dead after which prayer the presiding officer also greets him and thereafter, each in his order, all those who are present. That prayer is to implore divine mercy so that all sins admitted through human infirmity may be forgiven the deceased, and may establish him in the light and in the region of the living, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the place whence sorrow, sadness and groaning flee away." These are the words of Dionysius the disciple of the Apostle Paul.<sup>1</sup> So taught and held Holy Mother Church and all the orthodox.

152<sup>v</sup>

Purgatory is also proved from the appearances of souls which even if Luther mocks them, yet we read in 2 Macc 15:14 that Onias and Jeremiah appeared to Judas Maccabeus; in Christ's transfiguration, Moses and Elijah appeared [Mt 17:3]; and after Christ's resurrection, the disciples thought they saw a spirit [Lk 24:37], which they would mistakenly have supposed, if they had not known that the spirits of the deceased sometimes appear. See Eck, On Purgatory, Book 4.<sup>2</sup>

#### Objections of Pighardus.<sup>3</sup>

153<sup>r</sup>

1. Christ forbids widows: "Do not weep" [Lk 7:13], but if there were a purgatory, the deceased should be wept for.

2. Jeremiah says: "Do not weep for the dead; nor sorrow over him with weeping" [Jer 22:10].

3. Paul says: "We do not wish you to be ignorant, brothers, of those who are asleep, that you be not sorrowful, even as . . ." etc. [1 Thess 4:12]. [cf. Gratian Decr. 2.13.2.26: Fr. 1.730]

4. Cyprian [De Mortalitate, c. 18, 20] sedulously warns the brethren not to weep for those who have departed from this life [Gratian Decr. 2.13.2.25: Fr. 1.729].

<sup>1</sup> Ecc1. Hier., 7.4,25 (PG 3.559f)

<sup>2</sup> De purgatorio contra lutherum hostes ecclesiae libri quattuor (1523)

<sup>3</sup> Possibly a reference to the Hussite Bohemian Brethren or Pighards [Pighardus = Begards].

5. Chrysostom [Hom. Heb. 26, on Ch. 11]: "To lament over those who have left this life arises out of weakmindedness" [Gratian Decr. 2.13.2.26: Fr. 1.729].

Response of the Christian.

1. Christ was shortly going to revive the dead man. Therefore he forbade the mother to weep: nor do Christians revive anyone from the dead.

153<sup>v</sup> 2. Jeremiah did not wish king Josiah captive in Egypt to be mourned, but other kings following, under whom the Jews would suffer more tribulations.

3. Paul is disjointedly quoted, who says, "just as others who do not have hope." Therefore it is an evil thing to mourn for the dead out of despair of the future resurrection, something the Church does not do [Decr. 2.13.2.26: Fr. 1.729].\*

4/5. According to the aforesaid are Cyprian and Chrysostom to be understood, when anyone weeps for the dead out of unfaith, as if he were forever lost. See Tom. 2, Hom. for the 17th Sunday after Pentecost.

\*Quoting John Chrysostom, Hom. Heb., 26 on Ch. 11, with Gratian's comment.

CHAPTER 26  
CONCERNING ANNATES

In the Roman curia, men call "annates" what the ordinaries of the places designate, mediate or first fruits, and, for the confirmation of the bishop, are wont to call the redemption of the pallium, when yet only the Bishop of Bamberg in Germany and the archbishops properly have the pallium.<sup>1</sup>

"I have given to the sons of Levi all the tithes of Israel for a possession for the ministry wherewith they serve me in the tabernacle of the covenant" [Num 18:21]. And later: "Command the Levites, and declare unto them: when you shall receive from the children of Israel the tithes which I have given you, offer the first-fruits of them to the Lord, that is, the tenth part of the tenth, that it may be reckoned to you as an oblation of first-fruits, as well of the barn floors as of the wine presses, and that all the things of which you receive tithes offer the first-fruits to the Lord and give them to Aaron the priest" [Num 18:26-28]. In the Old Testament therefore the Levites and the priests received the tithes, and Aaron the high-priest received the tenth of these tithes. Therefore annates descend from divine law because they have taken the place of the tithe of tithes.

154<sup>r</sup>

"And the Levites shall offer the tithe of their tithes in the house of our God, to the storeroom of the Lord our God" [2 Esd 10:38].

Johannes Andreae<sup>2</sup> mentions Annates in his chapter (among others) "On the Duty of the Ordinary," following Hostiensis,<sup>3</sup> whom he cites in an opinion of this sort. Here Hostiensis says that "necessity excuses the Roman Church in the exacting of

154<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 39. above.

<sup>2</sup> Lay Canonist (c. 127-1348), Professor of Canon Law at Bologna and Padua and author of the *Novella Commentaria* on the Decretals of Greg. IX and On the Liber Sextus (See NCE 7.994f).

<sup>3</sup> Hostiensis - Henry of Segusio, who served in the Curia and became cardinal and archbishop of Ostia (thus called Hostiensis) LWAE 31. 149 n. 34.

annates, where otherwise the Church would have no right, because she cannot provide for all from her own substance." And later: "Now that derives from very ancient custom." Afterwards he relates how very often the Church proclaimed, to the extent that there was even a sermon on this topic at the Council of Vienne over which Clement V presided.

155<sup>r</sup> It follows that Platyna<sup>1</sup> and Blondus,<sup>2</sup> and certain patchers-together of the complaints<sup>3</sup> of Germany, have erred, for they attribute the origin of annates either to John XXII and Boniface IX, or to the Council of Constance, because the Germans make out that Clement V preceded John XXII and Boniface IX. Yet he did not originate annates, but approved their establishment on the basis of ancient custom. Surely these two witnesses, Hostiensis and Johannes Andreae, shatter the lies of these haters of churchly status.

Annates were not established at the Council of Constance as the patchworks of the Lutherans dream up, but because some churches had decreed in temporalities it was established that those churches might so be led back from poverty to a just tax, according to the current value of the church. Therefore the Council rather confirmed annates. Hence no one as yet has published truly when annates were instituted; therefore the aforesaid authorities speak well that annates are a very ancient thing.

155<sup>v</sup> John Gerson, On Simony, 36.K: "Just as according to the ancient law tithes of tithes were owed to the high-priest by the Levites [Num 18; Dt 26], thus no less in the new law ought this tithing to be made to the Pope himself by the lower clergy. Moreover this recompense seems rational: that the fruits of the first year are paid for any benefice, since in this the Pope is serving the Church, and thus, in order to sustain his own decent condition, he can

<sup>1</sup>Bartholomew Platyna, De Vita Christi et omnium pontificum (1479).

<sup>2</sup>Flavius Blondus [Flavio Biondo] Italian archaeologist and historian (1388-1463), author of four fundamental works on Roman archaeology and antiquities.

<sup>3</sup>Possibly a reference to the Centum Gravamina. (Kidd, DCR, no. 61)



burden persons and benefices." And he arrives at that reason by adequate reference and conclusion.

It follows, if priests and bishops should wish to deny annates to the supreme pontiff, then with the same ease laymen would deny tithes to priests, and priests would refuse to give intermediate fruits to bishops. Hence we would make a Babylon of the Church. This is something the heretics and their adherents strenuously strive to do, mixing all things, divine and human.

CHAPTER 27  
CONCERNING THE BURNING OF HERETICS<sup>1</sup>

156<sup>r</sup>

1529

[This proves two axioms.]

Axiom 1: The first penalty of the heretics in the New Testament was excommunication.

"If anyone will not hear the Church, let him be to you as a heathen and publican" [Mt 18:17], that is, let him be separated from the Church by excommunication. Yet incorrigible heretics do not hear the Church.

After a first and second rebuke, avoid a heretical person, knowing that he who is of this sort has been subverted, and errs, since he has been condemned by his own judgment: "The perverse are hard to be corrected" [Eccl 1:15]. Accordingly, incorrigible heretics are not convinced, nor persuaded by reasons.<sup>2</sup>

156<sup>v</sup>

"We charge you, brethren in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother walking disorderly and not according to the tradition which they have received from us" [2 Thess 3:6].

"If any man come to you, and bring not his doctrine, do not receive him into the house or say to him, Hail' [2 Jn 10]. For he who says Hail to him, comes in contact with his evil works. Hence also the same John the Evangelist, after he had come upon the heretic Cerinthus in a bath house, immediately went out to the disciples saying, Let us flee from this place, lest even the baths themselves corrupt us in which Cerinthus is bathing, that enemy of truth" [Decr. 2.24.1.24, Fr. 1.975].

Thus Moses also said to the children of Israel in the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiron: "Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing belonging to them, lest you be involved in

<sup>1</sup>cf. Luther, Argument in Defense of the Arguments of Martin Luther (1521), 33. (PE 3.103-105).

<sup>2</sup>Marg.: Ad tit. 3

their sins" [Num 16:26]. And the Apostle: "I beseech you, brethren, to mark those who make dissensions and offenses contrary to the doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them. For they who are such, serve not Christ our Lord, but their own belly, and by pleasing speeches and good words, seduce the hearts of the innocent" [Rom 16:17f].

157<sup>r</sup>

Axiom 2: Obstinate or relapsed heretics are justly removed from the midst through death.

"If there rise in the midst of you a prophet or one that says he has seen a dream, and he foretell a sign and portent, and what he spoke come to pass, and he say to you, let us go and follow strange gods whom we do not know, and let us serve them, you shall not hear the words of that prophet or dreamer, for the Lord your God is tempting you, that it may appear whether you love him with all your heart and with all your soul, or not" [Dt 13:1-3]. "And that prophet or forger of dreams shall be slain, because he spoke to draw you away from the Lord your God" [Dt 13:5].

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"But he that will be proud and refuse to obey the commandment of the priest who ministers at that time to the Lord your God, from the decree of the judge, let that man die and you will take away the evil from Israel" [Dt 17:12]. The provision of this law still demands that we remove an evil man from the midst of the church.

"But the prophet, who being corrupted with pride, wills to speak in my name things that I did not command him to say, or in the name of strange Gods, shall be slain" [Dt 18:20].

"Bring forth the blasphemer outside the camp . . . and let all the people stone him" [Lev 24:14]. Why not also the heretics?

"Elijah the prophet of the Lord slew the prophets of Baal" [3 K 18:40].

The wolf should be effectively protected against: but if the wolf cannot otherwise be taken care of for the safety of the flock, the wolf must even be slain. Now the heretics are wolves, as Christ

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says: "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly are ravening wolves" [Mt 7:15].

And Paul: "I know that, after my departure, ravening wolves will enter in among you, not sparing the flock" [Acts 20:29]. Justly therefore are they removed from the midst through death.

"Jesus, when he had made, as it were, a scourge of little cords, he drove them all out of the temple, the sheep also and the oxen, and the money of the changers he poured out, and the tables he overthrew" [Jn 2:15]. If he did this to the moneychangers, what then would he have done to the heretics?

The teaching of the heretics is harmful to their neighbors, because "their speech spreads like a canker" [2 Tim 2:17].

Saphira and Ananias, from the very beginning of the Church, on account of a paltry sum of money were punished by Peter with death; how much more should heretics defrauding souls be punished with death by Peter's successor?

158<sup>v</sup> Augustine, on the penalty of heretics: experience of many diseases forces many remedies to come to light. Sometimes the books of mathematicians and of heretics were burned, as Augustine, On John [PL 38.1455], says was done in his time. Pope Gelasius in the year 496 burned some. And at the time of the Apostles, books of curious arts were burned; how much more ought heretics to be burned. So says Luke [Acts 19:19]: "And many of those who had followed curious arts, brought together their books, and burnt them before all; and counting the price of them, they found the money to be fifty thousand pieces of silver". Sometimes when the Christians had no power of punishment over the bodies of heretics, the penalty was excommunication, as above quoted from Paul. 159<sup>r</sup> And Cyprian warns that Christians are not to speak with heretics. Augustine, in his Letter to Boniface, relates that individual heretics were fined ten pounds of gold. Pope Gelasius condemned heretics to exile.

Jerome [In Epist. ad Gal., 5 : Decr. 2.24.3.16: Fr. 1.995] teaches that putrid flesh is to be cut away, saying as follows: "Putrid flesh is to be cut away, and a mangy sheep is to be excluded from the sheepfold, lest the whole house, mass, both body and flock, burn, be corrupted, putrify, perish." And later: "What is this mercy, to spare one, and lead all into danger?"

"Arius in Alexandria was one spark, but since he was not immediately suppressed, his flame ravaged the whole earth" [Ibid.].

And St. Ambrose: "Heresy like a hydra of the fables increased by its own wounds, and while it often is cut down, it spawns by the fire to which it is destined, and will perish by burning."

Augustine, Against the Epistle of Gaudentius, 2.12.13, says concerning heretics: "This human race ought to be corrected through imperial intervention." And, On John: he teaches at length that Catholic emperors and princes do well to use the sword against heretics, for heretics ought to be afflicted and cast out by princes, just as Hagar was afflicted by Sarah, when Ishmael played with Isaac [Gen 21:9f; Gal 4:22ff]. "And having in readiness to revenge all disobedience. . ." [2 Cor 10:6]. "I would they were even cut off, who trouble you" [Gal 5:12].

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Note how fervently he desires them to be cut off: if princes had at that time been Christians, doubtless they would have obeyed Paul's wish.

Augustine, On John, says: "None of us like any heretic to perish; but otherwise the house of David would not have deserved to have peace, unless Absalom his son had perished in war; thus the Church, if by the perdition of some she gathers the rest, heals the sorrow of the maternal heart by the liberation of so many people."

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The Emperor Constantine [C. de haer., L. Manich.] condemned Arius with his adherents to exile, because he refused to adhere to the Council of Nicea.

The Emperor Theodosius [L. Arr.] punished the Manichean heretics, and deprived them of the possession of all goods, and of all inheritance; moreover, he allowed investigation to take place after death. The same emperor decreed with Valentinian [L. quicunque, par. ult.], that Manichees not have the right to assemble or tarry in any Roman place, and also decreed that they were to be turned over to the ultimate punishment (i.e., death).

The same decreed that the books of the heretics be examined with diligent study and publicly burned. Valentinian and Marcian condemned all heretics, and condemned with perpetual deportation those possessing books contrary to the Council of Chalcedon itself. They remanded to the ultimate punishment those who taught unlawful things, and once again remanded their books to be burned.

"Bring forth the blasphemer outside the camp . . . and let all the people stone him" [Lev 24:14]. Why not also the heretic?

"A land bringing forth briars and thistles is reprobate, and very near to a curse, whose end is to be burnt" [Heb 6:8]. The heretic is a land of this sort, because heretics are briars. Mark 7 [:6-8]: be wary of false prophets.

"Transgressors shall all be plucked up as thorns, which are not taken away with hands, and if anyone will touch them, he will be armed with iron and with the staff of a lance; and they shall be set on fire and burnt to nothing" [2 K 23:6f]. But who transgresses more than heretics?

Forgers of money or other malefactors are justly sentenced to death by secular princes. Why not heretics, forgers of holy Scripture?

#### Objections of the Heretics.

1. The Apostles never sought from the princes of the earth, that they should use force on heretics.\*

2. The Gospel and Paul teach nothing of this sort.

\*Augustine used Lk 14:23 ("Compel them to come in") as proof text for the use of force by the civil arm against the Donatists.



3. One ought to dispute with heretics, and conquer them with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

4. The Lord commanded his servants that they allow tares to grow even to the harvest, which is the end of the world [Mt 13:38]. By "tares" are signified the heretics.

5. "For there must also be heresies, that they who are approved, may be made manifest among you. Therefore . . ." [1 Cor 11:19f] etc.<sup>1</sup>

Catholic Solution of Objections.

1. The Donatists put forth this objection against the Catholics, as Augustine attests, On John and in very many other passages. He answers: "Who had then believed in Christ? It was not the emperor, because heretics were not deserving, but because the sword of the Gentile princes and of the emperors was not yet serving the Gospel, yet the Catholics appealed against the heretics to Constantine as soon as he had been baptized, for if the emperors punished theft, murder, robbery, adultery, perjury, why should they not punish heresies and sacrilege?"

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2. It was fitting that the faith in the Gospel, just as in its coming to birth it did not depend upon human wisdom, so neither does it depend on human power, even when the crowns of kings bow before the Savior; yet Paul desired that those who disturbed the faithful should be cut off.

3. We are taught by the authority of St. Peter to be "prepared to satisfy everyone who asks concerning that faith which is in us" [1 Pt 3:15]. Yet Paul sufficiently indicates that "after the second admonition, the heretic is to be avoided," [Titus 3:10f], and one is not to dispute with him; and Paul gives a clear reason for this, because he "is subverted" [Titus 3:11]. Tertullian shows himself remarkably skilled in this matter: "We are not to dispute with heretics, because we should rather stand on the faith of the ancients, than dispute over the Scriptures." And

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<sup>1</sup>Obj. 5 added after 1529.

he pleads this case with very many, in every respect depicting how Luther treats sacred Scriptures.

1529           [Appendix of Tilmann.]

1529           4. The eradication of heretics by death is not contrary to the Lord's commandment, which is to be understood in that case, when they cannot uproot the tares without uprooting the wheat. Hence he added: "Lest perchance, in gathering the tares, you uproot the wheat at the same time with them"[Mt 13:29]. When this  
1529           fear, therefore, is not involved, [that is when that crime is so known to each and appears execrable to all, so that they have either no defenders at all or no such defenders through whom the schism can be dealt with,] the severity of discipline should not sleep." These are Augustine's words, Against the Epistle of Parmenian.<sup>1</sup>

102<sup>v</sup>           5. It is necessary that heresies exist, just as it is necessary for scandals to occur. Therefore, just as "Woe to the man through whom scandals occur," [Mt 18:7], so also woe to him through whom heresies are spread. Therefore it is necessary that both exist,  
after 1541       not indeed by absolute, but only by conditional necessity, [which must needs take place, out off or predestined by God, if they are jointly received.] Or secondly, it is necessary, that heresies exist by the necessity of the end, seeing that they are useful for this, "that they who are approved may be made manifest among you" [1 Cor 11:19], as the Apostle adds, that is, in order that the constancy of the faithful in the faith of the Church be proved, and the teachers may cast out laziness, more carefully conning the divine Scriptures, as Augustine says. This moreover is per accidens beyond, nay, contrary to the intention of the heretics, who endeavor to corrupt the faith, pervert the Scriptures, seduce the hearts of the  
after 1541       innocent, with all the force of their minds. [We ought accordingly

<sup>1</sup>In 1529 edition, chapter ends here with the added sentence: "We shall deal more fully [with this in the chapter] 'Disputations with Heretics are not to be Held.'" The refutation of Obj. 5 is taken from 1541, with subsequent additions (see, e.g., 1572 ed.) marked here with brackets.

to have regard for that which is per se of their intention, in order that they may be excluded, rather than for that which is beyond and contrary to their intention, in order that they may be put up with.] Or thirdly, it is necessary that those things occur according to the condition of men (who do not take precautions against sins and heresies). For example, if some physician seeing certain persons using an unsuitable diet, says: such persons must needs be ill; this statement is to be understood under this condition: provided they do not change their diet. Similarly, also it is necessary that scandals occur, and it is necessary that heresies exist when men do not change their evil conversation, or when they do not turn away from the perverse teachings of depraved heretics, when princes and rectors of communities still leave those heretics free, nay, provide them with an annual stipend in order that they may spread their heresies among the people, while silence is imposed on Catholic preachers, so is it not even permitted them to mumble against the heretics. Who then would wonder that these heresies have to exist, where they find themselves in such a situation?

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## CHAPTER 28

### DISPUTATIONS WITH HERETICS ARE NOT TO BE HELD

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Although concerning Luther and the Lutherans there is no doubt that they are condemned heretics, and are to be considered as such, because they recall the oft-condemned heresies of Arius, Mani, Jovinian, Aërius,<sup>1</sup> Vigilantius, Etytyches, Felix, the Albigenses, the Waldensians, John Wyclif, John Hus, and other heretics, therefore we are not to dispute against them.

For Pope Gelasius says: "Our ancestors, discerning by divine inspiration, necessarily took precaution, that a synod once convened, should, for the sake of the faith, communion, and Catholic and Apostolic truth, pronounce against some heresy, and not allow afterward to be mutilated by new retractations (lest occasion be furnished to depraved persons) those things which had been remedially established and those which are followed." [Decr. 2.24.1.2, Fr. 1. 966]

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The Emperor Marcian [L. nemo, C. de summa trinitate et fide Catholica] willed the same: "If anyone, once a case has been adjudicated and rightly disposed of, should strive to reverse it and publicly debate it, he is doing injury to the judgment of the most reverend synod."

Hence in the seventh<sup>2</sup> session of the Council of Chalcedon, Marcian said, among other things [cf. Decr. 1.96.2, Fr. 1.338]: "We willed to concern ourselves with confirming the faith, not with sharing power, after the example of the most godly prince and most August Roman Emperor Constantine, in the council, so that when truth is found, the multitude may not, drawn by evil doctrines, be further disrupted."

<sup>1</sup>Aërius, a fourth c. presbyter of Sebaste (Pontus) who denied that in the Mass an oblation is made for the living and the dead (Aug.) Lutheran Book of Concord, p. 267 n. 6. According to Epiphanius, Panarion 3.1, Haer. 75, this Arian taught: "The prayers for those who have passed away do not have any merit; they are meaningless and they also must be abolished."

<sup>2</sup> recte: sixth.

Moreover, heretics do not seek disputation, unless one involved in much ill-will: for very many of them are so stubborn, that they freely promise that they are going to defend their articles even to death. Hence it is clear they are incorrigible, obstinate and stubborn, and ones who are not teachable by God, but depend upon their own prudence, and put an obstruction in the Holy Spirit's way.

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Again, it is clear of the Lutheran heretics, that they fraudulently allege disputation, for they seek to dispute not in the presence of learned and educated men, practiced in theology, but in the presence of unlearned, vulgar laymen, whose capacity in no wise equips them to judge such mysteries of the faith.

For how could the heretics come to a disputation in the presence of the learned, when they know that theologians of the faculties (studia generalia) of France, Spain and England have decided against them, and the faculties of Germany, which were famed in theology, before the rising of this heresy, likewise condemned Luther.

Besides these facts, in disputing they have in mind a perverse objective, namely, to draw to themselves laymen otherwise very hostile to the clergy, that they may lead them into even fuller hatred toward the clergy.

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Moreover, the Lutheran articles are of the sort that if they are set forth to be debated in the presence of the laity, the mysteries of our faith, and the authority of the Church and councils are exposed to derision. For scandal arises not only among the simple faithful, but among Jews and infidels, if they should hear these things in our faith called in doubt, which were determined and decreed by holy fathers and councils more than 1000 or 1200 or 1300 years ago, or were observed from the time of the Apostles. Who then, who has even a grain of faith or prudence, could adjudge that these matters are to be disputed, in the presence of hostile and evilly disposed laymen? And because their change of opinion and stubbornness are well known (for they will not admit any other judge

165<sup>v</sup> but Scripture, which they will to interpret according to their own heads), Paul the Apostle clearly has forbidden disputation with them. He says: "Contend not in words, for it is to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers" [2 Tim 2:14]. "Avoid foolish and unlearned questions, knowing that they beget strife" [2 Tim 2:23]. "But avoid foolish questions, . . . and contentions, and strivings about the law. For they are unprofitable and vain" [Tit 3:9].

"As the partridge has hatched eggs which she did not lay, so is he who has gathered riches, and not by right" [Jer 17:11]. Augustine, Against Faustus, 13.12, beautifully applies this: "The partridge is an excessively contentious animal. So also are the heretics contentious. For they do not love to dispute, but rather, by any means whatever to triumph with their most shameless obstinacy, so they may gather what they have not produced. For those Christians whom they especially seduce by the name of Christ, they now find have been born through His Gospel; these they gather (and lead) to madness."

166<sup>r</sup> Thus does Augustine apply to heretics the proverb, "The partridge gathers what she has not brought forth." It follows that if a suitable judge is not provided, there will never be any end to disputation, but a heretic does not accept a suitable judge, because it is the very nature of heretics, as Augustine says, Against Faustus, Book 22, "to flee disputation." For rash, stubborn and savage persons are always found who accept no satisfactory solution. "Just as Jannes and Mambres resisted Moses, so do the heretics resist the truth--corrupt men, reprobate of mind toward the faith," [2 Tim 3:8], but they will not profit further. Pope Gelasius [Epist. to the Bishops of Dardania: Decr. 2.24.3.36: Fr. 1.1000] "With whom was the synod to be undertaken? The Catholic bishops were now routed on all sides, only the colleagues of the perfidious remained, with whom it was not permitted to hold council, as the Psalm [24:4] says: 'I have not sat with the council of vanity, and I will not enter with the doers of iniquity.' It is not churchly custom to mingle counsel with those who hold polluted communion with the wicked." etc.



Chrysostom, Hom. on the Lord's Day, 18: "Hear, O faithful man, who willingly contend against the heretic. If the Pharisees have been appeased, can you likewise by contending against a heretic appease him, if you have conquered him? But if the Pharisees have indeed been conquered, but have not been appeased, how could you appease them after you have conquered? Are you stronger than Christ? Do you appease those whom he has not appeased?"

Origen, On Matth, Hom 22: It is characteristic of the Sadducees and of all who are teachers of falsehood, to be mute, but not to keep silent, for if they are mute with respect to something, still they are not silent.

Therefore the Catholics ought to avoid disputation with persons of this sort because as the wise man says, "It is an honor for a man to separate himself from quarrels" [Prov 20:3]; except when suitable judges are provided, for then, in order that the glory of God might be manifested, and Catholic truth protected, and the perfidious heretics confounded, there must by all means be disputation, even as Stephen disputed [Acts 5], Paul disputed [Acts 17 and 20]; and where heretics desire to undergo and suffer the judgment of disputation, there are as yet so many Catholic men, each one of whom has a sword girded on his thigh, who will rise up against the heretics, just as David did toward Goliath, in the name of the Lord of hosts of the armies of the God of Israel [1 K 17:45]. "And under a just judge truth will conquer" [3 Esd 3:12].

PREFACE TO THE ADDITION<sup>1</sup>

167<sup>v</sup> Since new diseases give occasion for the search after new remedies, on that account, after we had put forward other commonplaces against the Lutherans, truly indeed we ascertained the way and the door opened by Luther for all to hear anything whatsoever. For Luther annulled (as forcefully as he could) the authority of holy councils, the judgment of Roman pontiffs, the replies of holy fathers beloved of God, and the condemnations of academic faculties (studia generalia). Accordingly, now to every frenzied or melancholy, Saturnine, doubly stupid brain, a way is opened to mix all the insane fantasies of his head with the sacred mysteries.

O God! O times! We are compelled therefore by their impiety, although utterly against our will, to add these commonplaces.

<sup>1</sup>This is a preface intended to introduce the chapters added in 1529, i.e., Chs. 29-33. See above, p. 9\*.

## CHAPTER 29

### THAT UNDER THE EUCHARIST IS THE TRUE BODY OF CHRIST<sup>1</sup>

"And while they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples, and said: 'Take and eat, this is my body.' And taking the cup, he gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying: 'Drink of this, all of you. For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for remission of sins'" [Mt 26:26-28]. Most significantly Christ said: "This is my body" [Mt 26:26] and "This is my blood" [Mt 26:28].  
Why therefore does anyone reject these very clear words and Christ himself?

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"While they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessing, broke, and gave to them, and said, Take; this is my body. And having taken the cup, giving thanks, he gave it to them. And they all drank of it. And he said to them: This is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many" [Mk 14:22-24].

"And taking bread, he gave thanks, and broke it; and gave it to them, saying: This is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after he had supped, saying: This is the cup, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you" [Lk 22:19f]. Note with what great harmony the Evangelists indicate the body and blood of Christ was delivered over to the disciples.

"The bread that I will give, is my flesh, for the life of the world" [Jn 6:52]. Christ says: "The bread I shall give is flesh"; the heretics deny this.

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"I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and giving thanks, broke, and said: 'Take and eat, this is my body, which shall be delivered for you; this do in remembrance of me.' In like manner also the cup, after he had supped, saying:

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Baden Disputation (1526), Proposition 1: The true body of Christ and His blood are present in the sacrament of the altar"; Proposition 2: "The true body and blood of Christ are also truly offered in the mass for the quick and the dead" (Eck).

'This cup is the new testament in my blood'" [1 Cor 11:23-25].  
Note how Paul expressly says that the body and blood of Christ  
was<sup>1</sup> offered to the disciples.

169<sup>r</sup> "The cup of benediction, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? And the bread, which we break, is it not the partaking of the body of the Lord? For we, being many, are one bread, one body, all who partake of one bread and one cup" [1 Cor 10:16f]. Here Paul clearly shows that in every particle of consecrated bread, the body of Christ is partaken; stony is he who twists these words to something else than the body of Christ.

169<sup>v</sup> "But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he who eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord" [1 Cor 11:28f]. It is very clear that on account of the presence of Christ's body, the sin from the one unworthily partaking pertains to the body of Christ, for no one but a madman denies one eating unworthily to be answerable for what he eats. Paul teaches in this passage in First Corinthians: let them not believe there is simple food on the altar, but the body of Christ, for which he who eats unworthily is answerable; accordingly very significantly he added: "Not discerning the body of the Lord," that is, not distinguishing it from other foods. This all the holy fathers of all periods held to in the churches; hence to act foolishly against so many utterly clear texts of Holy Scripture is an act of extreme rashness, and exceeds the insanity of other heretics. At one time Berengar, deacon of St. Maurice of Angers Church, had taught this, but at Rome, before Pope Nicolas and thirteen Archbishops, and one hundred bishops, he abjured it [Decr. 3.2.42, Fr. 1.1328f].

#### Objections of the Capernaite Heretics. <sup>2</sup>

1. Christ says: "The poor you will always have with you, but you will not always have me with you" [Mt 26:11]: but if He were in the Eucharist, we would always have Him.

<sup>1</sup>Singular verb, treating body and blood as one.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 3, n. 1 (p. 6) above.

2. "It is the Spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing" [Jn 6:64]. If therefore it does not profit, why is there so much contention over what is under the Eucharist?

3. Augustine, On Psalm 4: "Until the end of the age, the Lord is above." 170<sup>r</sup>

4. Otherwise, three articles of faith would be falsified: "He ascended into heaven," "He sits at the right hand of the Father," "Thence He shall come." For if He is in heaven, how will He be on the altar? For it is impossible for the same body to be in two places.

Andreas Bodenstein Carlstadt, the first reviver of this buried heresy, addresses these words on behalf of his own error.

i. If the body and blood of Christ were in the sacrament, it would follow that bread would be crucified for us.

ii. Christ did not say: "Take my body," but "Take this bread."

iii. Bread is not made better by this mumbling and panting of priests. For who gave this power to priests?

iv. Otherwise since Christ had a mortal body in the Supper, and now has an immortal one, it could now not be true to say of it that it is given for you. 170<sup>v</sup>

v. Christ says: "If anyone says to you, Here is Christ, or there is Christ, do not believe him" [Mt 24:23]. Therefore, let us not believe it, if they say, in this host is Christ, or in that host.

vi. He chides the Catholics because they call the Eucharist a sacrament: for the Apostles did not so name it. God, not man, gives his own creatures their names. Moreover Paul calls the Lord's Supper, the Lord's bread, cup, etc.

vii. The Lord's Supper was sufficiently instituted by these words: "Jesus took bread, gave thanks, and broke, and gave it to his disciples, and said: Take and eat, this do in remembrance of

me" [1 Cor 11:23]. And these words, "This is my body," are inapplicable, as if interjected through parenthesis.

171<sup>r</sup> viii. The words of Paul [1 Cor 10:16f], they try to avoid, because there the Apostle Paul speaks not of communion, that is, of taking the sacrament, but of the communion of the passion of Christ, which is done in commemoration of him.

ix. He so understands the words of 1 Cor 11:28f to refer to those unworthily commemorating the Lord's death. Zwingli<sup>1</sup> and Oecolampadius,<sup>2</sup> two contentious vessels of error, have embraced Carlstadt's opinion: Zwingli lays his foundation in the passage of John Ch. 6: "The flesh does not profit anything" [Jn 6:64]. Then, to make fun of the clear texts of the Gospel, they say: That means it is taken in an act signified, not exercised, as the sophists say in their categories. For, seeing how utterly absurd this shift of Carlstadt is, they thus endeavor to evade it. That is: this signifies my body; or, this is body, that is, the figure of my body.

Refutation of These Points by the Catholics.

171<sup>v</sup> 1. That Christ is going to be with us forever, the Truth confesses in the last chapter of Matthew: "I shall be with you . . . even to the consummation of the world" [Mt 28:20]. Therefore, when he says: "Me you will not always have with you." it is to be understood according to the bodily presence of human intercourse, for now he is not anointed, washed, cleansed, etc.

2. Surely if flesh will not benefit Catholics, neither will bread benefit the heretics. Furthermore, neither will the heretic say that the flesh of Christ was not on the cross. Besides, it does not follow: "it does not profit"; therefore it is not in the sacrament; unless you admit this inference therefore is not in heaven. Yet if we examine the matter more sharply, the heretics do not follow Christ's meaning. Christ is not speaking of his own flesh; for

<sup>1</sup>Note the inconsistency of the heretics: Zwingli in his Canon [of the Mass] said the body of Christ is in the Eucharist, by similitude.

<sup>2</sup>Oecolampadius, in two sermons, is impious when he comes into the depth. (Eck's notes) Reference is probably to Sermo de sacramento eucharistiae (1521). Latin text in Walch; German tr. in Walch, Dr. Martin Luthers Sämtliche Schriften, 20.2361-2381.



he does not say, My flesh profits nothing; the Jews held this opinion, who went back thinking the flesh of Christ broken by the teeth is visibly torn to pieces under the species of bread.

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3. We admit the Lord is above in heaven, sitting at the right hand of the Father, in visible and quantitative form, who nevertheless, invisible, is sacramentally concealed under the species of bread.

4. The truth of the eucharist does not conflict with the articles of faith. For because with God no word is impossible, he can make one body be in many places, since by nature he could make one essence of the soul in many members, in the hands, and feet. Augustine. Likewise: Christ is in heaven and yet appeared to Paul [Acts 9:4f; 22:6-8; 26:14f; 1 Cor 15:8].

i. The things Carlstadt, banished from Saxony by Luther's hatred, has poured forth are also so impious and obtuse that they deserve no reply. Nevertheless, let us speak.

Perchance Luther would have conceded that the bread was crucified by communication of properties, yet because we Catholics are far away from that heresy, that the bread remains in the Eucharist, for that reason Carlstadt's inference is not admitted.

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[And Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory of Nyssa asserted bread is transubstantiated in the sacrament; to them add John Chrysostom, Hom. 60, where he says God sanctifies and transmutes the bread.]

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ii. What Carlstadt assumes is not true, for Christ does not say: Take bread; but, extending the bread, he says: Take and eat, this is my body. What a difference there is between saying, Take my body; and extending his hand and saying, Take, this is my body.

iii. No one says that through breathing, or panting, or mumbling, bread becomes better, but when the priest, according to Christ's institution, says the consecrating words, by which God with his divine omnipotent power is present, and turns the substance of

173<sup>r</sup> bread into his own body, and wine into blood. This power, moreover, the Apostles received from Christ, when he said: "This do in remembrance of me." Therefore Paul says: "I have received from the Lord what I also deliver to you" etc. [1 Cor 11:23].

iv. Even if the body of Christ were already impassible, then the priest who knows that Christ does not die later, does not say that it must be given, but recounts that Christ said such things in the Supper, which is true, for then (not now) the body of Christ was to be given, and blood was to be shed [Rom c. 6].

v. What Christ said concerning his kingdom of faith, the heretic understands concerning the body of Christ. The Savior foresaw it would come to pass that the Hussites would say that Christ stands for them. The Lutherans, opposing these, assert Christ is for them; the Zwinglians excluding the Carlstadtites boast of Christ himself. The Rebaptizers claim Christ for themselves alone. The Lord has warned us away from these heretics.

173<sup>v</sup> vi. Vain is Carlstadt's boast, for since this matter is well established, he contends in vain over the name; for not God, but Adam, gave names to the creatures, nor is the sacrament a false sign, as that Judaizing rascal ridicules the Church, that it is a "Sekerment," for it is clear that the appellation "sacraments" came down from the Apostles even to us, from the testimony of Dionysius, who in his book On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy [3.1] calls the Eucharist "synaxis," and according to his celebrated preceptor,<sup>1</sup> he says that it is the consummation of the sacraments; he states the most holy and most venerable mysteries of it, and says the sacraments are divine gifts, and are in common.

174<sup>r</sup> vii. We deny what he says: for "This is my body" is most intimately connected in the middle with other words; and it is childish to accept the end words, but to exclude on one's own authority the middle words. He proves this disjunction from scripture: for it does not satisfy this stupid man that he says that the punctuation

<sup>1</sup>i.e., the Apostle Paul.

is prefixed to the clause and after the principal capital letter. This to him, this is the way a theologian excels: to contend over capital letters and punctuation. Let the sophists be driven out of theology and let the sophists be taken up with those great capital letters. Childish are the things he gabbles so confidently: the natural consequence of the words only allows that Christ has pointed out the bread extended in the hand, and this phrase has been added to make the meaning clearer. And weigh what Luther here says against Carlstadt: they are attacking Luther in their twisting of these words, "You are Peter, and on this rock I shall build my church" [Mt 16:18].

viii. Carlstadt mangles and lacerates Paul, for when he leans toward allegories alone, he admits letter and spirit together, it is certain that Paul is speaking of communion and participation in the Eucharist, not in the passion. Now communication in the passion is confined to the good alone; participation in the Eucharist is common to the worthy and unworthy, good and bad.

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ix. He similarly mangles Paul, for Paul speaks of persons eating unworthily. This man twists this to commemorating unworthily even though these are different, although each sins, that is, communicating unworthily and commemorating unworthily.

5. <sup>1</sup>Zwingli and Oecolampadius, sharing this error, saw Carlstadt's exposition of these words, "this is my body," to be violent, hard, and bold, and utterly aberrant from the true one, yet his impiety pleased them; hence they fashioned a most trifling and more than sophistical exposition of their own. "Is" is understood to mean "signifies." Thus they teach the new Evangelicals to follow the pure letter of Scripture, that is, to tear it to shreds. Hence also they are laughed at by Luther and Bugenhagen. And thus you can destroy their impiety from its very foundation.

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<sup>1</sup>On the Fifth principal objection.

i. First, Hausschein (Oecolampadius) is raving when he says, "This is my body, that is, the form of my body," because he contradicts both himself and the Catholics, for the opinion of all is that there is the form of bread, even if among Catholics it is believed to be the body of Christ, yet under the form of visible bread. See Augustine, Sentences of Prosper [cf. c. 341, quoted in Decr., 3.2.65: Fr. 1.1338].

175<sup>v</sup> ii. Secondly, the ignorance of Zwingli and Oecolampadius is detected, when they think in a metaphorical expression that "is" is equivalent to "signifies." Hence they have come to this impiety also out of ignorance of dialectic; hence, afterward they err in symbolic theology. And in order to make sure that their doctrine does not progress they examine that trite expression, "the wolf is in the fable," as to whether those dolts here expound "is" as "signifies." Likewise, in those symbols of John Ch. 10 let them introduce their "signifies." "The hireling . . . whose own the sheep are not, sees the wolf coming" [Jn 10:12]. "I am the good shepherd," that is, "I signify the good shepherd, and I know my sheep" [Jn 10:14]. O stupid, dull, and ignorant heretics!

iii. Thirdly, the false conclusion of Oecolampadius, twisting the opinions of the Fathers, especially that of Augustine, we shall easily avoid, if we note that the eucharist is called a sign.

Firstly, by reason of the sensible species of bread and wine.

Secondly, because also the true body of Christ is the sign of the mystical body of Christ.

Thirdly, because the eucharist when taken is the sign of grace conferred upon the taker.

176<sup>r</sup> And fourthly, since the body of Christ is there not only circumscriptively, but its own mode of existing inheres spiritually, it also is designated by the name of "sign" or "form," although nonetheless it is as yet truly there the body of Christ.

iv. Fourthly, because three evangelists and Paul indicate no metaphor, but identically announce, "This is my body." And it is repeated very many times, and nowhere else in Scripture will they teach here is a metaphor, nor are we taught by faith that here is a metaphor; therefore it is to be understood in its proper sense: "This is my body." For Zwingli raves: elsewhere in Holy Scripture "is" is to be understood as "signifies." But he exceeds all madness. If "is" were anywhere understood to mean "signifies," it is here understood, but he was deceived by his ignorance of logic. For when Christ says He is the vine, "is" is not put there for "signifies," as his obtuseness would understand it, by putting in the text, "I am the true vine," "that is, 'I signify the true vine.'" This is Zwingli's opinion, although Christ does not signify the vine, but is signified by the vine. 176<sup>v</sup>

Now to the fifth very clear Gospel text, the agreement of the whole Catholic Church accedes, and those most powerful miracles divinely manifested in this most venerable sacrament as well. Then let heretics' fleeting sophisms, raving impieties, most ignorant distortions, and forced expositions of Holy Scripture, perish. Since Luke for one shuts out all their dreams, when he relates that Christ said: "This cup is the new testament in my blood" [Lk 22:20]. For the heretics love the Greek words, in which "is" is not read, and yet identically, it is said, "the cup the new testament," surely not in wine, but in my blood, for there is no testament without blood. See Paul, Heb 9:16.

Note how the heretics were moved like a drunken man, and all their wisdom was eaten up. Oecolampadius in July 1524<sup>1</sup> was angry that the blood of Christ was denied to the faithful in the communion: and before the year ended, he with his heretical accomplices denied to the faithful, both the body and blood of Christ. Likewise Zwingli. Carlstadt after he breathed such fire over the sacrament, now sang another song: he did not propose these things to be believed, 177<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Disputation at Baden, 18 May - 8 June 1526, especially Eck's Propositions 1 and 2.

nor were they going to be asserted from the Spirit, or from Sacred Scripture, but were to be investigated as things proposed by him under their proper head. See how that stupid man changes like the moon [Ecclus 27:12].



CHAPTER 30  
CONCERNING THE BAPTISM OF CHILDREN \*

"This is my covenant which you shall observe, between me and you," etc. [Gen 17:10]. "An infant of eight days shall be circumcized among you" etc. [Gen 17:12]. "The male, whose flesh of his foreskin shall not be circumcized, that soul shall be destroyed out of his people, because he has broken my covenant" [Gen 17:14]. Now baptism seems to be in the Church what circumcision was in the synagogue. For just as through circumcision the children of the Jews are included within the divine covenant, so also the children of Christians are not to be excluded from the covenant of God; therefore: children are to be baptized, against the Rebaptizers. And a child not baptized is condemned by the common law, against Zwingli, who while he wished to destroy one heresy of the Rebaptizers, taught ten others that were worse, against the express statements of Scripture.

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"Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God," etc. [Mk 10:14]. "And embracing them and laying his hands upon them, he blessed them" [Mk 10:16]. Therefore the Rebaptizers do badly in forbidding children to come to Christ through baptism.

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"Baptize all nations" [Mt 28:19]. Therefore also, children.

Since "our fathers were all under the cloud and all were baptized in the sea and in the cloud" [1 Cor 10:1f], indeed it is certain that even children were under the cloud and thus baptized as in a figure.

Baptism is not repeatable without sacrilege. Hence Paul says "It is impossible for those who were once illuminated, have tasted also the heavenly gift" [Heb 6:4], "and are fallen away to be renewed again to penance" [Heb 6:6]. Paul does not deny the reiteration of penance as does Novatian, but of renewal, that is, of baptism.

\*On baptism see Gratian, Decr. 3.4.1-146; Peter Lombard, Sent. 4.6; Thomas Aquinas, S.T., PT 66-71, especially PT 68.9: Whether children should be baptized.<sup>1</sup>

The use and authority of the whole church came down from the very time of the Apostles, which all devout children ought deservedly to obey.

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1. Dionysius, Ecclesiastical Hierarchies, c. 7 [11: PG 3.567f], after he had said that children who while they cannot as yet understand divine things, are still made participants in baptism, adds: "When this had come to the attention of our most godly leaders (thus is he wont to call the Apostles), it seemed good to them to admit infants in this way, so that the natural parents of an infant offered (for baptism) may turn over the child to one of the faithful, a distinguished teacher of divine matters; the president requires of this child responding according to a holy, educated life, that he profess self-denial, and confess faith." Note that children baptized by the Apostles were under the sponsorship of god-parents.

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Cyprian and the entire African Council to Fidus who was of the opinion that children designated between the third and fourth day ought not to be baptized. Cyprian answered: "In our council it seemed far otherwise to all, for in this which you thought ought to be done no one agreed, but all of us adjudged that the mercy and grace of God ought to be denied to no one born of men."

Origen, On the Letter to the Romans.

Augustine, On Genesis, 10.23. The custom of Mother Church in baptizing children is by no means to be rejected, nor in any way to be considered superfluous, nor at all to be believed, unless the tradition were apostolic. He puts forth this case in the two books to Marcellinus, under the title On Merits and Forgiveness of Sins.<sup>1</sup> [cf. Gratian Decr. 3.4.139: Fr 1.1407] Jerome saw these books and praised<sup>2</sup> them.

Jerome, Against the Pelagians, 3, declares that children are baptized in order that in baptism sins may be forgiven them.

<sup>1</sup>This work is quoted by Gratian, Decr. 3.4.139 (Fr. 1.1407); also by Thomas Aquinas, S.T., PT 69.9.

<sup>2</sup>1529: laudavit; 1541: habuit

The first Parabaptist was Agrippinus of Carthage [Vincent of Lerins, De antiquitate ecclesiae].

Three Heretics are Anathematized.

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The Council of Milevis, Against the Pelagian Heretics, Canon 2 [Gratian, Decr. 3.4.153: Fr. 1.1412]: "Likewise it was decreed that whoever denies infants recently born from the womb of mothers are to be baptized or says they are baptized for remission of sins but derive nothing of original sin from Adam which will be expiated by the laver of regeneration, hence it follows that in them the form of baptism for remission of sins is not true but is understood to be false and to be anathematized."<sup>1</sup> Here by a sacred council Balhasar Hubmaier is struck with anathema with his rebaptizers who deny the baptism of infants.

2. Zwingli<sup>2</sup> himself denies original sin in children. Accordingly it would not be wiped out in baptism; hence wishing to destroy the heresy concerning the non-baptism of infants, he asserts ten other heresies, of which one is, that children of Catholics, etc. unbaptized, are saved. Further, Augustine, On Merit and Forgiveness of Sins, c. 33. Likewise Jerome.

3. A certain newfangled heretic, Eberhard Wiedens,<sup>3</sup> an apostate canon regular of Halberstadt, who indeed admits original sin, yet says it is uncertain whether a baptized child, dying, is saved, because we do not know whether he has received faith, and thus, if he does not receive faith he remains a child of wrath and of condemnation. Note in how many chapters the heretics are split, contrary to the Apostle. Not all say the same thing. Reason founded upon faith overcomes it, for they take it that original sin has been contracted by the transgression of another. Why then had not the Father of mercies, the Lord, provided them with a remedy in order that they might be

<sup>1</sup>See Hubmaier, Von der christlichen Taufe (1525), Schriften, pp. 118-163.

<sup>2</sup>See Zwingli, Fidei Ratio, 4 (teaching on original sin); on baptism: Ratio 7. Also cf. Dispute at Baden (1526), Proposition 6: "Children of Christians are born in original sin."\*

<sup>3</sup>Not identified

180<sup>v</sup> healed with the will of another cooperating? But the fact that children contract sin is clear from Augustine and Jerome in their treatises against the heresy of the Pelagians mentioned above and it is proved, "For behold I was conceived in iniquities; and in sins did my mother conceive me" [Ps 50:7]. "We were by nature children of wrath even as the rest" [Eph 2:3]. "For all have sinned and do need the glory of God" [Rom 3:23]. "As through one man sin entered this world, and through sin death, and thus death passed into all men, in whom all have sinned" [Rom 5:12]. Here the Apostle says "in whom all have sinned," and Pelagians and Zwingli dare to say that infants have not sinned.

In the fifth synod of Constantinople were condemned the Parabaptists, Zoara, Syrus Monachus, Severus of Antioch, Peter of Antioch, Anthimus of Trebizond, Peter of Apamara.<sup>1</sup>

181<sup>r</sup> And later: "If by one man's offense death reigned through one; much more they who receive abundance of grace and of the gift and of justice, shall reign in life (even infants regenerated in Christ) through one, Jesus Christ" [Rom 5:17]. And later: "As by the disobedience of one man many were made sinners" etc. [Rom 5:19].

"I give thanks to my Lord, that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Caius; lest any should say that you were baptized in my name. Moreover I baptized also the household of Stephanus" [1 Cor 1:14-16]. If he baptized the whole house therefore he also baptized the children of that house.

"As in Adam all die (even children) so also in Christ all shall be made alive" [1 Cor 15:22], even children. But this is only through baptism through which they are incorporated in Christ.

Against the Rebaptizers, Oecolampadius<sup>2</sup> argues for the baptism of children:

181<sup>v</sup> 1. The Rebaptizers show disrespect to the practice of the Christian community.

2. That is an inductive opinion of the sects, schisms, and seditions.

<sup>1</sup>Probably this has reference to the Synod at Constantinople under Patriarch Menas in AD 536, not the Fifth Synod of Constantinople of AD 553. Cf. Corpus Juris Civilis, Novella 42.

<sup>2</sup>Chiefly in controversy with Hubmaier.

3. Who has thus taught up until now, or who has observed this custom?

4. Yet when did baptism of children begin in the Church, if they were not at some time customarily baptized?

5. If children are not to be baptized, let this prohibition be proved from the Scriptures.

6. From the Apostles' time baptism was not forbidden to children.

7. You do not want to receive so many hundreds of thousands of baptized infants as Christian brothers?

8. Zwingli inveighs against those that they will not obtain the victory, because, striving for this a thousand years before, they surrendered.

9. He is angry about their innovation.<sup>1</sup> If the matter had advanced to the point, he says, that in some place or other a hostile head (as soon as anything new and rare struck his fancy) would immediately raise up a sect adhering to him, and there would come to be so many sects and schisms, that Christ would be divided into many pieces. And later: some melancholy, saturnine and peculiar head or other strives to raise up his own sect.

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10. Although baptism of children is not clear from the Holy Scriptures, just as many other things, yet because they are not contrary to God but with God, for that reason they ought to be received.

Antithesis.

We have recounted these things in order that Catholics may understand how heretics are unable to defend themselves against heretics, unless they use the arms of the Church. Let us put before their eyes the fact that they quote Cyprian, Augustine, and the Council of Milevis, when the Catholics would do that, and would

<sup>1</sup>Zwingli, Of Baptism [LCC 24.158].

shout, fathers, fathers. Let us place this matter before their eyes.

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1. Both Luther and Oecolampadius reject the Church's practice in baptism, and the mass, and all things.

2. And the heresy of Luther has already put forth many sects, and very polluting seditions, such as Germany never experienced before. Hence more than a hundred thousand men have perished.

3. Who has so taught that you are to be baptized in the German language?<sup>1</sup> That the priest Zwingli should marry? And the apostate Oecolampadius should reject his vow and priestly orders?

4. If at some time there was not Lent in the Church, when then did it begin? Or if once there was no churchly confession (which they call "auricular"), when did it begin?

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5. The heretics prove that children are not to be exorcized, not to have god-parents, that marriage is not a sacrament, that confession is not to be made to a priest, and a thousand things of this sort, which they forbid; let them prove--I say--that these are forbidden in Scripture.

6. From the time of the Apostles celibacy was not forbidden, nor the blessing of candles, etc.

7. You wish not to receive as Catholics so many hundred thousand of those who confess, who make offering in the mass, who adore the eucharist, who keep religious vows; then the way to Christ will be very narrow.

8. Nor will you obtain victory against the images of the saints, against their relics, against original sin, for the Felicians, Helvidians, and the Pelagians more than a thousand years ago attempting this failed.

9. All the Catholics are angry over the novelty of so many heresies that anyone according to his own brain changes and confuses the mass, baptism, communion and all the offices of the Church.

<sup>1</sup>Luther, Babylonian Captivity, insists that baptism is the first and only plank (the ship) and is not to be replaced after post-baptismal sins by penance (the second plank); nor is it to be divided with confirmation.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter 37, pp. 264-269, below.



Catholics weep that so many novelties of sects are permitted to the heretics: there are Lutherans, Carlstadtites, Zwinglians, Oecolampadians, Rebaptizers, Capernaïtes.<sup>1</sup> 183<sup>v</sup>

Why then, O Luther, Pellikan, Carlstadt did you not admit anything as yours unless it was proved by clear texts of Holy Scripture, thinking that to be a valid argument in theology? Yet it is not read, therefore it does not exist. Why now do you betake yourselves to the traditions of men which the dizziness of your brains have spewed forth? Where is the horned argument of Zwingli, of your brother, Balthasar (Hubmaier) Friedberger? See above, Chapter 16.<sup>2</sup>

Objections of the Heretics.

1. "Go and teach all nations, and preach the gospel to every creature. He who believes and is baptized, shall be saved" [Mk 16:15f]. Therefore only believers are to be baptized.

2. "Going therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" [Mt 28:19f]. 184<sup>r</sup>

3. The Gospel was proclaimed to the eunuch before he was baptized [Acts 8:32ff]; likewise to Cornelius [Acts 10:34ff].

4. Why in ancient times did baptism take place only three times a year if children were to be baptized as soon as they were born?

5. Pope Nicolas began to baptize children, but Scripture knows no baptism of children.

Response of the Catholics.

1/2. Christ is speaking of adults, both in Mark and in Matthew. Let the Lutherans nevertheless note that from the words of Christ

<sup>1</sup>See p. 3, 192f, above

<sup>2</sup>P. 124, above.

it is not sufficient to believe and be baptized, but it is necessary to keep everything Christ has commanded.

184<sup>v</sup> Also in the Church of the Savior infants are taught and believe through others, just as from others they have removed the sins remitted in baptism. Likewise, "Mother Church provides motherly lips, that they may be imbued with the sacred mysteries because they cannot yet believe with their own heart unto righteousness, nor with their own lips confess unto salvation [Rom 10:10]. If moreover they are on this account rightly called faithful, since they as it were profess faith through the words of those who carry them, let them be shown to have renounced the devil and this world" [Decr. 3.4.139, Fr. 1.1407, quoting Augustine, On Merit and Remission of Sins, Chs. 25, 19]. So speaks Augustine. The reason for this is attached: that spiritual regeneration is so to speak like physical birth with respect to the fact that children formed in their mother's womb do not receive nourishment through themselves, but are sustained from the nourishment of the mother; so also children not yet having the use of reason, as if formed in the womb of Mother Church, receive salvation not through themselves, but through the act of the Church. And thus the faith of another, namely, of parents and god-parents offering the infant to the Church for baptism, suffice to them for salvation, just as the faith of those who presented the paralytic (Jesus saw their faith and said to him:) "Confess, son, your sins will be forgiven you" [Mt 9:2], so the faith of the centurion obtained salvation (= healing) for his child [Mt 8:5ff]. And the faith of the Canaanite woman obtained for her daughter liberation from demon-possession, etc. [Mt 15:22].

185<sup>r</sup>

The eunuch was an adult, and likewise Cornelius.

That was on behalf of adults, not on behalf of children and only twice did public adult baptism take place: at Easter and at Pentecost. Not thrice, as Oecolampadius imagines, as is clear from Siricus, Leo, Gelasius, and the Council of Girone [cf. Gratian, Decr. 3.4.15: Fr. 1.1366].

It was not begun by Pope Nicolas, as is clear from Jerome, Augustine and Cyprian, who preceded Nicolas by 400 or 600 years. I have seen no writings of Rebaptizers; I hear there were very many unlearned, rash men, unversed in the Latin language, with the exception of Balthasar Hubmaier of Friedberg, who is reported to be the author of this depraved sect, a man who while he was still in communion with the Apostolic See, performed the office of teacher. May God grant him to be able to discern the true light.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>He was burnt at Vienna, 1528. See p. 12, above.

CHAPTER 31  
CONCERNING FREE WILL\*

Madness of the Heretics.

186<sup>r</sup> Here the heretics have revived the once extinct heresy of Mani who first indeed denied free will functions actively on good works, because such are wholly and totally done by God; thereupon Luther, having become insane, denied free will completely, because all things happen out of absolute necessity--something once said by the stupid Stoics, Empedocles, Critolaus, Diodorus and other mistaken ones. Against these see also, Seneca, Natural Questions, 2.

The Lord said to Cain: "If you do well, shall you not receive? but if ill, shall not sin forthwith be present at the door? but the lust thereof shall be under you, and you shall have dominion over it" [Gen 4:7].<sup>1</sup> Here God makes free will master. Luther, to the ignominy of the Creator, makes it slave.

This commandment, that I command you this day is not above you, nor far off from you . . . . Consider that I have set before you this day life and good, and on the other hand death and evil . . . . I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Choose therefore life, that both you and your seed may live" [Deut 30:11, 15, 19].<sup>2</sup> Election pertains to free will; the wise man is in agreement.<sup>3</sup>

186<sup>v</sup> "God made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his own counsel. He added his commandments and precepts. If you will keep the commandments, . . . the commandments shall preserve you. He has set water and fire before you, stretch forth your hand to whichever you will. Before man is life and death, good and evil, that which he shall choose shall be given him" [Ecclus 15:14-18].<sup>4</sup> Nothing more expressly could be said with respect to free will.

\*At the Leipzig Debate (1519), Eck in the first week argued with Carlstadt the necessity of the concurrence of grace and will for all meritorious action.<sup>5</sup>

"All those who shall remain of this wicked kindred, shall choose death rather than life" [Jer 8:3].

"The innocent shall be saved, and he shall be saved by the cleanness of his hands" [Job 22:30].

A choice was given to the Jews whether or not they wished to follow God [Josh 24].

A choice was given to David of selecting one plague out of three [2 K 24:12].

A choice was given to the husband on the vow of his wife [Num 30:11ff]. Now that choice is not without free will.

"He who could have transgressed, and has not transgressed; and could do evil things and has not done them" [Ecclus 31:10]. "You have done evil things, since you were able" [Jer 3:5]. "I will voluntarily sacrifice unto thee" [Ps 53:8].

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"Thy sustenance showed thy sweetness which thou hast toward thy children, and serving every man's will, it was turned to what every man liked" [Wis 16:21].

"The servant says, Lord, you have given me five talents, see, I have earned five talents more" [Mt 25:20]. He could not actively earn, unless he had free will; otherwise he would have said that he had received ten talents. Paul agrees.

"I planted; Apollos watered; but God gave the increase" [1 Cor 3:6]. Later: "We are God's helpers" [1 Cor 3:9].<sup>1</sup>

"I have labored more abundantly than all they: yet not I, but the grace of God with me" [1 Cor 15:10].<sup>2</sup> Therefore, free will and grace are working at the same time, as Jerome says and Bernard says that the Apostle was the companion of working.

187<sup>v</sup>

Let the prophets be heard: "My soul is continually in my hands" [Ps 118:109]. "My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready" [Ps 56:8]. "If you be willing, and will hearken to me, you shall eat the good things of the land. But if you will not, and will provoke me to wrath, the sword shall devour you" [Is 1:19f].<sup>3</sup>

"Return, O transgressors, to the heart" [Is 46:8].

"Behold you have spoken, and have done evil things and have been able" [Jer 3:5].

"Cast away from you all your transgressions, in which you have transgressed, and make for yourselves a new heart and a new spirit; and why will you die, O house of Israel? For I desire not the death of him who dies, says the Lord God. Return and live" [Ez 18:31f]. And previously he had said, "If the wicked do penance for all his sins," etc., "in his justice which he has done, he shall live" [Ez 18:21]. Therefore he not only receives justice, but does it.

188<sup>r</sup>

"Turn to me, and I will turn to you, says the Lord of hosts" [Zech 1:3].<sup>1</sup>

"Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered together your children, as the hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and you would not?" [Mt 23:37]. While God wills, man through free will does not will.

"If you will to enter into life, keep the commandments" [Mt 19:70]. With many similar expressions.

"The spirit of the prophets is subject to the prophets" [1 Cor 14:32].

"He who has determined being steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but having power of his own will . . ." [1 Cor 7:37]. The madman Luther imposes necessity. Paul denies it. Whom shall we believe?

"Everyone as he has determined in his heart, not out of sadness or of necessity" [2 Cor 9:7].

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"Everyone who has this hope in him (God), sanctifies himself, as he also is holy" [1 Jn 3:3]. Note free will and its activities. Augustine, In I John [4:7]\*: See there how he does not remove free will. Later: Because you do something by your will, therefore



something is attributed to you that you may speak just as the Psalmist, "Be my helper; do not forsake me" [Ps 26:9]. If you say, Thou art my helper, you do something; for if you do nothing, how can he help you?

Peter speaks similarly: "Purifying your souls in the obedience of charity, in brotherly love, from a sincere heart love one another" [1 Pt 1:22]. If therefore we ought to sanctify and purify our souls, that will not come to pass without free will, or without the action of free will.

"And in his sight we shall persuade our hearts" [1 Jn 3:19]. But how would one persuade without free will, or what would be the usefulness of persuasion, if all things happened by necessity, as Luther raves.

"Without your counsel I would have done nothing, that your good deed might not be as it were of necessity but voluntary" [Philemon v.14.] To 189<sup>r</sup>  
stupid Luther all things happen of necessity.

"For the poor you have always with you and whenever you will, you may do them good" [Mk 14:7].

Now if we lack free will, and all things take place by absolute necessity, nothing is left to prayers, counsels, public government, deliberations; no rewards are owed to virtues; no penalties are owed to vices; laws, rights, statutes, precepts perish. Admonitions, persuasions, enticements, etc. cease. For all these things require liberty, but are made void by necessity. To sum up: this would be to refer all misdeeds and crimes, all impieties and blasphemies to God. For who will impute treachery to Judas, which he has committed out of inevitable necessity.

The Lord objects.

"Your own wickedness shall reprove you, and your apostasy shall rebuke you" [Jer 2:19].

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"Destruction is your own, O Israel; your help is in me alone" [Hos 13:9].

"All scripture, divinely inspired, is profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in justice that the man of God may be perfect, equipped for every good work" [2 Tim 3:16f]. If all things happen by necessity, what value is it to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct? If free will does nothing, what does it benefit man to be equipped for good works? Hence Luther wishes to make of men trunks and logs. "They who do all things with counsel are ruled by prudence" [Prov 13:10].<sup>1</sup>

Jerome affirms that this was his intent to assert God's omnipotence and free will together. There is a similar statement in (pseudo) Ambrose On the Calling of the Gentiles, 1.3.

190<sup>r</sup> Augustine in very many places, but especially in Hypognosticon,<sup>2</sup> 3, where among other things he says: "With sure faith we believe that free will adheres in men and this we preach without hesitation." Thus Origen, Chrysostom, Basil, Theophylact (than whom on this account Oecolampadius is more wicked)--all have asserted free will.

Gregory of Nyssa demolishes the inevitable fate of the Stoics, and very clearly demonstrates an active free will.

Cyprian to Cornelius [Epist 1.3]: "Christ said to the Apostles: 'Will you also go away?' [Jn 6:68] keeping, namely, the law, whereby man, left to his own freedom, and established in his own choice, seeks for himself either death or salvation."

Bernard is wholly of this opinion, in his own book, On Grace and Free Will.

#### Objections of the Heretics.

190<sup>v</sup> 1. "John the Baptist said: No one can receive anything, unless it be given him from heaven" [Jn 3:27].

2. "Every best gift, and every perfect gift, is from above, coming down from the Father of lights" [James 1:17].

3. "All our sufficiency is from God" [2 Cor 3:5].

<sup>1</sup>On the Roman Catholic biblical proofs of free will: "Most of these passages and arguments had been used by opponents of Luther, including Schatzgeyer, Erasmus, Cochlaeus, De Castro, and Faber." (See OS Calvini, 3.308).

<sup>2</sup>A pseudonymous work.

4. "What do you have that you have not received? If moreover you have received, why do you glory, as if you had not received it?" [1 Cor 4:7].

5. "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy; and I will show mercy to whom I will show mercy. So then it is not of him who wills, nor of him who runs, but of God who shows mercy" [Rom 9:15f]. "Therefore he has mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardens" [Rom 9:18].

6. "Why hast thou made us to err, O Lord, from thy ways? Why hast thou hardened our heart, that we should not fear thee?" [Is 63:17].

7. "Shall the clay say to its potter, What are you making, and your work is without hands?" [Is 45:9]. "The way of a man is not his: neither is it in a man to walk, and direct his steps"[Jer 10:23].

8. If a remnant according to election has been saved by the grace of God [Rom 9:27]; "if moreover by grace now not by works: otherwise grace is no more grace" [Rom 11:5]. 191<sup>r</sup>

9. "But when they shall deliver you up take no thought how or what to speak, for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak" [Mt 10:19].

10. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father" [Mt 10:29].<sup>1</sup>

11. "No man comes to me unless the Father who has sent me draw him" [Jn 6:44].

12. The Church prays: God of whom is all that is best.

13. Augustine to Felicianus: "When God recompenses our debts, he crowns his own gift."

14. Bernard: "Free will is only the capacity for salvation."

15. Now to extol free will in this way, as if we can do anything of our own strength, is the Pelagian heresy: for free will before grace can do nothing but sin; therefore the scholastics, positing congruous merit,<sup>2</sup> are new Pelagians. 191<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Melanchthon, LC 1521 [LCC 19.24].

<sup>2</sup>meritum congrui: cf. Melanchthon LC 1521 [LCC 19.43 n. 48].

Reply of the Catholics.

We admit that, before all things God is the prime cause of all things, and nothing can be done without him. Hence on every natural effect he has a general influence, but on good works of the rational creature he also concurs by a special influence. Therefore God is the first cause, moving also natural and voluntary causes. And just as he does not remove those causes by moving them by natural causes without the acts of them being natural, so by moving voluntary causes he does not remove without actions of them being voluntary, but rather he does this in them, for he acts in each one according to its property, smoothly disposing all things. Accordingly we confess that free will of itself alone cannot lead to good, and is nothing, but the grace of God so acts that something can happen; for this reason of himself no man thinks anything good, but it is of God's special grace that he does this. Thirdly, they say this is not only to be understood of grace, which is charity and makes one pleasing to God, but also of freely given motion going before, by which God inspires, arouses and calls man to good. Therefore one must pay close attention as to what is of God alone and what is of God and free will together. This most significantly Augustine [Gennadius?], or some other learned author has expressed in the book on Ecclesiastical Dogmas [c. 21: PL 42.1217] as follows: When God takes pity on us, we have the beginning of our salvation (note the first step is of God alone). For us to assent to his saving inspiration is in our power (note the second step, which is of free will, and congruent with merit). For us to obtain what, by assenting to inspiration, we desire, is of divine gift (note the third step of gratifying grace). For us not to fall back in the gift of salvation once obtained, is of our own power and of divine assistance equally. This fourth step of perseverance depends upon God's grace and free will together.

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1. We admit that good is received only when God is its giver, but he gives some things with free will acting, other things without its action.

2. Thus we confess our merits to be gifts of God and given by God, prevenient, cooperating and subsequent. But by this it is not denied that free will concurs actively for merits.

3-5. Concerning the third, fourth and fifth points, one must speak similarly: for God out of his mercy anticipates free will by moving, and mercifully cooperates by assisting; by inspiring our wills, the Church prays to be anticipated (by him).

6. A sinning people does not make God the author of sin and error. The expression "thou hast made" is to be understood "thou hast permitted"; "thou hast hardened" is to be understood as "thou hast permitted to be hardened." According to the common theory: but through this the activity of free will is not cancelled, but rather confirmed.

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7. We admit that no man ought to rebel, or vaunt himself against the Creator, just as a tool does not do so against the workman, for all creation is the tool of divine power, but through this free will is not taken away. [As to the other text of Jeremiah, it must be said that in the work of man is to be found two things, namely, election\* of works and this lies always in man's power, and execution of works, and this is not always in man's power, but with divine providence governing, set before the power of man sometimes is led to the end and sometimes is not. Therefore it is said:] "The way of a man is not his, neither is it in a man to walk, and direct his steps" [Jer 10:23], with reference to the execution of choices in which he can be hindered in many ways whether he will or not. But choices themselves are in us, yet subject to divine help. And therefore it is not said to be free of its own actions but free of its own action, which is the judgment of things to be acted and this very name "free will" demonstrates this. For free judgment speaks of acting or not acting.

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\*electio = choice

8. The good are saved by grace, not works. This you should understand with grace expected because all works are nothing without grace. "For the sufferings of this time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed in us" [Rom 8:18], says Paul.

9. Remove anxious solicitude of considering beforehand and it is one thing concerning the knowledge of the Apostles because that was infused, and free will functioned passively; another thing concerning the works of free will, which it does together along with grace.

10. Melanchthon is blinded, for against free will he mangles this statement: since every man sees that Christ wills that all things be subject to God's providence.

194<sup>r</sup> 11. We assert the pull of the father through prevenient and cooperating grace, but to assent to that pull, and not to harden our hearts, if we have heard his voice--this is of free will.

12. We admit that everything is from God, not only in the best, but also in all creatures, but just as through this natural causes are not excluded, so also is free will not excluded in morals. Elsewhere I have roundly said: merit is wholly from God, but not totally; the good natural philosophy clearly understands this.<sup>1</sup>

13. Our merits are gifts of God, nay, all temporal goods which we have received are gifts of God, just as Job says. But through this the activity of free will is not excluded, just as the begetting of cattle or even the fructifying of the field is not excluded, etc.

14. Free will is only the capacity for salvation, that is, of grace. For there it functions merely passively. What is said concerning grace, the heretic Carlstadt twists to meritorious works.

<sup>1</sup>Marg.: Against Carlstadt.



15. The church fathers and schoolmen are not Pelagians, for they do not deny original sin, they do not say that man is saved by means of his natural endowments alone, but they consistently affirm necessary grace. On the contrary it is necessary that grace anticipate the working of free will. And he rightly asserts congruent merit as is clear concerning Cornelius the Centurion [Acts 10:2], whose alms God had regard for, and conferred the grace of the Holy Spirit. We are not therefore new Pelagians, but the heretic Luther, with Carlstadt, Urbanus,\* and Pelican is that ancient stupid Stoic, and posthumous Mani.

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[Appendix of Tilmann.

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Know from the presence of God that it cannot be concluded that all things happen by necessity (something some ignorant folk think) and thus that our acts are necessary, by absolute necessity, which is called the necessity of consequents, but by well conditioned necessity, which is called necessity of consequence, when thereby freedom of choice stands in human affairs, just as also the contingency of things stands in things contingent.<sup>1</sup> See what we have written against Carlstadt and in the special work, On Free Will. See Cochlaeus, and Alfonsus à Villa Sancta.

\*Urbanus Rhegius (= Urban Rieger): See p. 32, above.

## CHAPTER 32

### CONCERNING PRAYER AND THE CANONICAL HOURS

195<sup>r</sup> Because Luther has taught that all things happen by absolute necessity, and he has denied free will, very many of his followers against express statements of Scripture deny that one ought to pray, because Christ sufficiently prayed for us.

Axiom 1: The necessity of prayer, from the Scripture.\*

The disciples said to Christ: "Lord, teach us to pray" [Lk 11:1]. And he said to them: "When you pray, say, 'Our Father . . .'" etc. [Mt 6:9].

195<sup>v</sup> And having dismissed the multitude, Jesus went up into a mountain alone to pray" [Mt 14:23]. "He went into a desert place . . . and prayed" [Mk 1:35]. "And it came to pass while he was praying, the appearance of his countenance was altered" [Lk 9:28 f]. "Kneeling down, he prayed, saying: Father, if thou wilt, remove this cup from me" [Lk 22:41f; Mt 26:39]. "And being in agony, he prayed the longer" [Lk 22:43]. "But pray that your flight be not in the winter, or on the sabbath" [Mt 24:20]. "See, watch, and pray, for you do not know when the time is coming" [Mt 24:42]. "Pray for those who persecute and speak ill of you" [Mt 5:44]. "We ought always to pray, and not to faint" [Lk 18:1]. "And will not God revenge his elect who cry to him day and night" [Lk 18:7]. "Pray that you enter not into temptation" [Mt 26:41]. "And when they had prayed, the place was moved wherein they were assembled" [Acts 4:31]. "And praying, they said: Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men" etc. [Acts 1:24].

"All these were persevering with one mind in prayer with the women, and with Mary the mother of Jesus and with his brethren" [Acts 1:14].

196<sup>r</sup> "Then they, fasting and praying, and laying their hands upon them, sent them away" [Acts 13:3].

"And when they had ordained to them priests in every church and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord" [Acts 14:22].

\*Inferred by translator.

The very thing therefore that the Apostles sought to know, Christ taught and commanded and fulfilled by deed; this the disciples also and the Christians of the primitive Church zealously did. It is in no wise to be neglected by the Christian.

"But this kind of demons is only cast out by prayer and fasting" [Mt 17:20].

"Whatever you ask in prayer, believing, you shall receive" [Mt 21:22]. "Your prayers and your alms have ascended as a memorial in God's sight" [Acts 10:4]. "Peter therefore was kept in prison. But prayer was made without ceasing by the Church unto God for him" [Acts 12:5].

"I beseech you therefore, brethren, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the charity of the Holy Spirit, that you help in your prayers for me to God" [Rom 15:30].

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"Since also he will yet deliver us from dangers, you helping in prayer for us" [2 Cor 1:10f].

"Have no anxiety about anything; but in everything, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your petitions be made known to God" [Phil 4:6]. "We give thanks to God always for you all, making a remembrance of you in our prayers without ceasing" [1 Thess 1:2].

"Be instant in prayer, watching in it with thanksgiving, praying withal for us also, that God may open unto us a door of speech to speak the mystery of Christ" [Col 4:2f]. Hence Mary is called upon in the beginning of the sermon.

"But we will be instant in prayer and the ministry of Christ" [Acts 6:4]. Note: he puts prayer before preaching.

197<sup>r</sup>

Isaiah said to Hezekiah: "Give charge concerning your house, for you shall die and not live." He prayed, saying: "I beseech thee, O Lord, remember how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, and have done what is pleasing before thee" [4 K 20:1-3]. Later: "Thus says the Lord the God of David your father: I have heard your prayer" [4 K 20:5].

"Let nothing hinder you from praying always" [Ecclus 18:22].

Jehosophat says, "As we know not what to do, this alone we have left to us that we turn our eyes to thee" [2 Ch 20:12].

"We pray God, that you may do no evil" [2 Cor 13:7].

"Pray for us, that the word of God may run, and may be glorified" [2 Thess 3:1].

197<sup>v</sup> "I desire first of all that supplications, intercessions and thanksgivings be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in high station, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all piety" [1 Tim 2:1f]. This custom has been preserved in the Church from the time of St. Paul even to our day, that at the end of the sermon there is prayer on behalf of the ecclesiastical and secular order, for peace for the living and the dead, etc.

"I will that men pray in every place, lifting up pure hands, without anger and contention" [1 Tim 2:8]. It is therefore clear from the Old and New Testaments, how useful and necessary it is to pray, for all good against all evil.

We have chosen these few passages from a thousand; see the Psalms.

The Wycliffites and Lutherans, who oppose prayer, are like the giants fighting against God. "The ancient giants did not obtain pardon for their sins, who were destroyed trusting to their own strength" [Ecclus 16:8].

198<sup>r</sup> Axiom 2: It is shown that the canonical hours are to be observed by ecclesiastics.

"Seven times a day I have spoken praise to thee, upon the judgments of thy justice" [Ps 118:164].

"Daniel went in to his house, and opening the windows in his upper chamber toward Jerusalem, he knelt down three times a day and worshiped" [Dan 6:10]. Note the stated times of prayer.

"Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer" [Acts 3:1].

"Peter went up to the higher parts of the house to pray at about the sixth hour" [Acts 10:9]. Note that the Apostles observed the customary hours of prayer among the Jews and the Church follows these.

"From ancient times, Moses has had in every city, persons who preach him in the synagogues, where he is read every sabbath" [Acts 15:21]. So says St. James and today the Jews do this: It would be shameful for the Church to keep silent while the synagogue is singing. Three chapters are read by the Jews each day: Ex c. 13 in three parts; Dt 9; Rabbi Moses. Let the Christian who does not praise God blush with shame.

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"All things have their season, and in their intervals, all things under the sun pass away" [Ecclus 3:1]. And since the Apostle bids that all things ought to be done among us "decently and in order" [1 Cor 14:40], why do divine prayers not have their own time?

In the figure of this Jericho fell down when the priests with seven trumpets went around the walls sounding them seven times [Josh 6:4]. Thus do the devices of the Devil fall down by the trumpets of the canonical hours.

Note that the songs of the Church have been taken from the Bible not only according to the translation of Jerome which we now use, but from the Septuagint as is clear in the introit "Laetare Jerusalem," [cf. Is 66:10]: there we read "Laetamini Jerusalem" ("Rejoice with Jerusalem"). Therefore it follows that these canticles were in the Mass before Jerome.

199<sup>r</sup>

In his exposition of the Lord's Prayer, Cyprian attests to the canonical hours, observed even in the Old Testament from the time of Daniel. But for us Christians beyond the hours of prayer anciently observed both the extent of prayers and sacraments have now increased. Under the law there were the third, sixth and

ninth hour. The Church has added matins, prime, vespers and compline, that thus our just acts might more abound than those of the scribes and Pharisees [Mt 5]. For the mysteries of the hours, see the same.

For these hours were established to praise God for his benefits to us, among which the greatest are the benefit of the creation accomplished in seven days, Genesis c. 1; and the benefit of redemption accomplished as it were in seven hours.

199<sup>v</sup> The Emperor Julian the Apostate transferred the rite of psalm-singing and the canonical hours to the pagans, in order that the integrity of the Church might not be a matter for the admiration of the pagans, as Cassiodorus attests in his Tripartite History, 6.29 [PL 69.1048].

Jerome, On the Preservation of Virginity to Demetrius: "Beyond the order of psalms and prayer which you are always to carry out at the third hour, the sixth and the ninth hour, vespers, at midnight and in the morning, determine how many hours you ought to study Holy Scripture."

He says the same thing in the epitaph of Paula on the order of the monastery.

Matins, third, sixth, ninth hours, vespers, midnight it was their custom to sing the psalter in order.

200<sup>r</sup> Basil, On the Institution of the Life of the Religious, Ch. 2 [Decr. 1.91.2, Fr. 1.316]: "The hours set apart by holy men for prayers to God are to be followed, for the great David says: 'In the middle of the night I arose to confess thy name, upon the judgments of thy justice'" [Ps 118:162]. Again, he says: "At night, in the morning, and at noon" [Ps 54:18].

Chrysostom, Hom 59: "They carried out morning prayers." Later: "They celebrated terce, sext, none, and evening prayers." And many other passages.



The Council of Agde [Decr. 1.91.2: Fr. 1.316]: In the morning when the morning office (matins) is finished, the presbyter should fulfill the duty of his service, namely, prime,terce, sext, none, vespers.

Augustine, in answer to the questions of Januarius\*: "Without doubt, that is especially to be done which can be defended from the Scriptures, as we have the examples of our Lord and of the Apostles concerning the singing of hymns and psalms." But this is not done except during the canonical hours.

Concerning Morning Hours.

"In the middle of the night, I rose up to confess thee"  
[Ps 118:62].

"I remember thy name at night, O Lord" [Ps 118:55].

200<sup>v</sup>

"In the nights lift up your hands to the holy places, and bless the Lord" [Ps 133:2].

"Every night I will wash my bed" [Ps 6:7].

"It is good to confess the Lord, and to sing to thy name, O most High, to show forth thy mercy in the morning, and thy truth in the night" [Ps 91:2f].

"And it came to pass at midnight, the Lord slew every first-born in the land of Egypt" [Ex 12:29].

"At midnight there was a cry made: Behold the bridegroom comes" [Mt 25:6]. Note that at midnight God is to be praised, for these are the night-watches of Christians and monks, says Jerome. For thus we will not be mixed up with the downfall of the Egyptians, but will await with joy the coming of the bridegroom.

"I anticipated the dawn and cried" [Ps 118:147].

Christ while he is praying at midnight on the Mount of Olives, is betrayed by Judas, and is seized by the Jews [Mt 26:30ff;  
Jn 18:2ff].

201<sup>r</sup>

\*Epist. 54

"And at midnight, Paul and Silas worshiping praised God" [Acts 16:25]. Later: "Suddenly there was a great earthquake" [Acts 16:26]. If therefore David, the prophets, Christ and the Apostles prayed at midnight to the Lord why do the lazy Lutherans and sneezing heretics make fun of the religious arising at matins, because it would be vain to rise before dawn, as if the Lord promised a crown for deep sleepers.

1529 ["Christ passed the whole night in the prayer of God" [Lk 6:12].]

Peter was freed from the prison of Herod at midnight [Acts 12:6f].

John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, against the treachery of Arius, increased the prayers in the nightly hymns. See Cassiodorus, Tripartite History, 10.8 [PL 69.1171].

201<sup>v</sup> The tribes of Levi were especially commanded to keep the night-watches of the children of Israel, before the tabernacle of testimony [Num 3:6]. Therefore the religious are especially now to watch in the morning hours, for the salvation of the Christian people.

Away with Vigilantius and the sluggish heretics, together with the Lutherans, with their slandering of vigils and matins.

Concerning Night Hours and Lauds.

The public institution of the Divine Office is said to have begun in Alexandria with St. Mark; afterwards it passed to other churches as Philo Judaeus\* attests. Eusebius relates that he composed new hymns (Ecclesiastical History, 2.72) of the night offices and the reading of Psalms. Cassiodorus is also a witness of this. Jerome: If therefore Mark ordained this in Alexandria he had it directly from St. Peter, as also his Gospel.

202<sup>r</sup> Cassian attests that twelve psalms were appointed and as many readings from the New and Old Testaments.

\*Cf. Eusebius, HE, 2.17

The Council of Laodicaea<sup>1</sup> determined that psalms were not to be read continuously, but readings were to be interspersed.

St. Jerome most aptly divided the Psalter, at Damasus' behest, so that the great variety of praying might cease. The three night hours and lauds are sung in one vigil in place of four vigils, since weak flesh would not suffice to bear the continuous observance of watching.

Lauds.

Lauds were discharged to God because although every creature is released from praising God, man would be culpable as a rational being when he neglected to do it. Prophecies were assumed, on the use of the Psalms that all prophesies had Christ as their end, and Christ appeared in the synagogue and read Isaiah [Lk 4:16f]. On certain days and festivals there were also certain gospels, accommodated from the time of the Apostles and kept as annual observances. 202<sup>v</sup> Augustine On First John, Prologue: there was interposed the solemnity of holy days on which it was necessary to recite certain readings from the Gospel in church, which thus were annual so that others could not be. That order which we had received was gradually intermitted of necessity.

Augustine posits that it was necessary to read certain Gospels on festivals. The heretics confuse all the Gospels, reading then every day as they please.

Ambrose added the books of Jonah and Job to be read at a certain time [Epist 5:33].

The Council of Africa, Canon 13, decreed: "Let it be permitted that the passions of the martyrs be read, when their anniversary days are celebrated."

<sup>1</sup>Mansi, Concilia, 2.573.

Concerning Hymns, Antiphons, and the Use of Psalm Singing.

203<sup>r</sup>

"After a hymn was sung, they went out to the Mount of Olives"  
[Mt 26:30].

"Let the word of Christ dwell in you abundantly, in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, hymns and spiritual canticles, singing in grace in your hearts to the Lord"  
[Col 3:16].

"Go into his gates in confession, into his courts in hymns confess him" [Ps 99:4]. "A hymn becometh thee, O God, in Zion"  
[Ps 64:2].

"My lips shall utter a hymn, when thou shalt teach me thy justifications" [Ps 118:171].

"And when this was done they blessed the Lord with hymns and confessions, who had done great things in Israel" [2 Mac 10:38].  
"I will pray with the spirit, I will pray also with the mind; I will sing with the spirit, I will sing also with the mind" [1 Cor 14:15]. "Sing to the Lord who dwells in Zion" [Ps 9:12]. "I will sing to thy name, O Most High" [Ps 9:3], in psalms through all.

"Sing praises to our God, sing" [Ps 46:7].

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"Be filled with the Holy Spirit, speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts," etc. [Eph 5:18f]. The Psalm expresses beseeching; the Antiphon, petition; the Collect, prayer; the Hymn, thanksgiving. Paul mentions these four [1 Tim 2:1].

At Alexandria arose the alternate mode of psalm-singing, as above, restored by Chrysostom, received throughout the whole Church.

The Council of Toledo [IV, A.D. 633, Canon 13]<sup>1</sup> said: "Concerning the singing of hymns: we have the example of Jesus the Savior and of the Apostles" [Decr. 3.1.54, Fr. 1.1308].

The same Council, with Isidore presiding: "Let our diversity seem to show error to save persons among carnal or ignorant

<sup>1</sup> falso Toledo III (AD 589) in Gratian.

schismatics, and the variety of the churches show itself a scandal for many. Therefore one order of praying and singing will be kept by us throughout Spain and Galicia." 204<sup>r</sup>

Augustine, On the Questions of Januarius\* "If anything is varied through the places of the churches and of the districts, let each one do what he finds in the church into which he comes, for nothing of them is contrary to the faith, or contrary to morals." See how beautiful this is.

The variety of the churches in divine offices does not hinder but it adorns because "the queen stood on thy right hand . . . surrounded with variety" [Ps 44:10], provided there not be such great variety that it seem to induce the error of schism.

Isidore: The Greeks sang antiphons with alternate choirs, like two seraphim and the testaments crying in turn to one another. St. Ambrose, imitating the Greeks, established antiphons among the Latins. See the Tripartite History.

Ignatius, taught through a vision of the angels, was the first to establish at Antioch the antiphons. 204<sup>v</sup>

"And the four animals had no rest day and night, saying: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty" [Rev 4:8]. The Church exhorts herself to singing in order to imitate the angels, saying in the preface: "The virtues of the heaven of heavens and the blessed accompanying seraphim concelebrate with exultation with whom we pray that you may order our voices to be admitted saying with suppliant confession, Holy, Holy."

Luther notably trifles over this matter, for when here and there he rejects human constitutions lest he seem to be wholly lazy, he does not reject canonical hours completely but permits for his apostate and perjured followers, that they take at least three psalms for the morning office and three for the evening office.

Paul taught the Corinthians [1 Cor 14:26], Ephesians [Eph 5:19], and Colossians [Col 3:16] voiced singing in hymns and psalms. 205<sup>r</sup>

\*Epist. 54

Objections of the Heretics.

1. "Not all who say to me, Lord, Lord, will enter into the kingdom of heaven" [Mt 7:21].
2. If prayers had value, then they would bind God to necessity.
3. If prayers were useful, then other good works would be superfluous.
4. "Your Father knows what you need before you ask him [Mt 6:8]. Therefore they pray in vain.
5. "I am God, and am not changed" [Mal 3:6]. Therefore he is not influenced by prayer.
6. "And when you are praying, speak not much as the heathen do. For they think that in their much speaking they may be heard" [Mt 6:7]. Therefore prayer should not be wordy.
7. Could priests do something else more useful than mumble so many psalms and something better and more pleasing to God? So go  
205<sup>v</sup> sometimes the arguments of the lukewarm hearers of theology.
8. In the Bible canonical hours are not enjoined upon the clergy.
9. Nothing is to be read in the church but the word of God; however in prayers many other things are contained, even fictitious matters concerning the saints.

Response of the Catholics.

1. Here Christ does not forbid prayer, but excludes from the kingdom of heaven the hypocrite who prays God with words, not with deeds. Such are the heretics who by their deeds assail God.
2. God, supreme Judge of all things, is laid under necessity by no one, yet urged by the godly prayers of the faithful, he conducts himself through the mode of necessity, as he says to Moses praying: "Let me alone, that my wrath may be kindled" [Ex 32:10], as though hindered, he asks to be left alone.



3. It behooves one to do (pray) and not neglect other things: fasting and alms are not so superfluous that by them prayer is not lifted, as by wings, to heaven. Jerome.

206<sup>r</sup>

4. He admits that God foreknows. And we do not tell our story to God as one who is ignorant, but we make our request for help to him as one who is powerful. Therefore by prayer we seek that which God has disposed that we are going to receive through the means of prayer, for God wills to be prayed to lest the thing given become worthless.

5. God is not changed by prayer with respect to his essence, but the effect is changed. Hence our prayer is not ordered to the unchangeableness of the divine disposition, but in order that what God disposed to be given before the ages may be obtained by our prayers, as Gregory says in his book of Dialogues, 1.8 [Decr. 2.23. 4.21, Fr. 1.906].

6. Much speaking in prayer is not simply forbidden but rather the way the pagans do this. Augustine says to Proba: Much speaking is forbidden, not copiousness or duration. For much speaking is to do a thing with superfluous words. Hence the prayers of the Fathers in Egypt were short but frequent. Christ prayed copiously [Lk 22:40f]; Hannah prayed copiously and multiplied prayers [1 K 1] and Christ "passed the whole night in prayer" [Lk 6:12].

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And Rabanus Maurus, On Matthew.<sup>1</sup> "Just as it is the mark of hypocrites to see to it that they are to be seen at prayer, whose fruit is to please men, so is it the mark of the Gentiles, that is, the pagans, to think they are answered in their much speaking [cf. Mt 6:7]. And actually all much speaking comes from the Gentiles, who pay attention to exercising their tongues rather than cleansing their heart. This kind of trifling or begging pursuit they try even to turn into swaying God by prayer thinking that just as a human judge, so also God is forced into judgment. Therefore do not be like them, says the one true Master." So speaks Rabanus.

207<sup>r</sup>

7. They are like Naaman who adjudged the rivers of Damascus better than all the waters of Israel to cleanse himself in them, but the prophet orders him to bathe in the Jordan if he wishes to be healed [4 K 5:10-12]. Thus if the reading of both Testaments is better, let it be so, yet one must wash in water when the masters of the Church bid one in the seven canonical hours. Thus the blind man ordered to enter the pool, did not say, it is better that I pray. Our duty is to obey the precepts, not to choose what is preferable according to our decision. "Cursed be he who does the Lord's work negligently" [Jer 48:10].

207<sup>v</sup>

8. In the Bible, canonical hours are not commanded, but are hinted at, and the Church has received this from the holy teachers, that is, the Apostles. It behooves us, however, to obey the things set forth. You contend that hours ought to be free, but these hours are free by the Christian liberty with which one is to serve God, but not by the Mohammedan liberty, with which each one does or omits according to the depraved desires of his heart.

9. The contrary was demonstrated: that even saints' legends are to be recited in the divine offices; likewise, the homilies of the Fathers are read, and the Collects of prayers, which are not expressly contained in Holy Scripture. But we do not, in Lutheran fashion, reject the struggles of the unconquered martyrs, provided they have been faithfully written down, for even in the Biblical writings some are contained, as for example, those of Stephen, James, Paul, etc. [Acts 7:52]. Others have been written down at various times by great men.

The End.

208<sup>r</sup>

The Lutherans and other heretics, rejecting the churchly rite of singing, reading and praying, and fashioning, according to their insane heads, new formulas of singing, massing, and praying, do like the heretic Paul of Samosata, who caused psalms addressed to Christ to cease, as newly devised. But he caused psalms composed out of himself to be sung on Easter day in the midst of the Church

by women, especially those whom he had previously instructed.<sup>1</sup>  
Thus do the stupid heretics with their ditties, and their new  
porcine and canine yowlings.

<sup>1</sup>Malchion, Epist. 2, as quoted in Eusebius, HE, 7.30.

CHAPTER 33  
CONCERNING PLURALITY OF PRIESTS AND CONCERNING TITHES

The heretics falsely accuse the multitude of the  
servants of God, priests and monks.

208<sup>v</sup> "Sanctify to me every firstborn that opens the womb among the  
children of Israel, as well of men as of beasts: for they are all  
mine" [Ex 13:2]. "You shall give to me the firstborn of your sons"  
[Ex 22:29]. "The firstborn, which belong to God, no man may sanctify  
and vow" [Lev 27:26]. "I have taken the Levites from the children  
of Israel, instead of every firstborn who opens the womb among the  
children of Israel and they shall be my Levites" [Num 3:12, 41].  
"Every firstborn is mine, since I struck the firstborn in the land  
of Egypt; I have sanctified to myself whatever is firstborn in  
Israel . . ." [Num 3:13].

"You shall take the Levites to me instead of all the firstborn  
of the children of Israel" [Num 3:41]. Note that in the law of  
nature, all firstborn enjoyed the privilege of priesthood, and in  
the written law, the whole tribe of Levi succeeded in place of the  
firstborn. Now there are not as many priests and monks as there  
are firstborn.

209<sup>r</sup> "Jacob said to Esau: Sell me your first birthright" [Gen  
25:31]. Later: "Esau swore to him, and sold his first birthright"  
[Gen 25:33]. In the law of nature, primogeniture was great, be-  
cause the firstborn received the blessing from the father (and this  
was in place of consecration), he had the power of blessing, like-  
wise special clothing in which he made offering, he had a double  
portion in inheritance and spoils. All these things ceased with  
the first priesthood of Aaron, then with our priesthood, except  
for the fact that priests do not take a double portion of inheri-  
tance, because a single portion is paid to them unwillingly by lay-  
men, or utterly denied.

"All the Levites numbered by Moses . . . every male from one month and upward, were twenty-two thousand" [Num 3:39]. And later: "Moses reckoned up . . . the firstborn of the children of Israel, and the males . . . from one month and upward, were twenty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-three" [Num 3:43]. The Lord spoke: "I am the Lord. But for the price of the two hundred and seventy-  
three, of the firstborn of the children of Israel, that exceed the  
number of the Levites, you shall take five shekels for every head . . .  
and you shall give the money to Aaron and his sons, the price of them  
that are over and above" [Num 3:45-48]. Ponder the firstborn redeemed  
with money: let no one wonder at this, if today in the Church similar  
redemptions occur. Think that you feed on milk in fasting, thus con-  
tributing to this fabric, for it is the change of one good into an-  
other. Therefore, rude argument yields: if it is permitted or just  
to do so with money, then also without money. Today such money is  
commonly given to the poor or to the Churches; how the laity would  
cry out, if it were given to the clergy, as God has here commanded  
through Moses to be done.

209<sup>v</sup>

"The Levites were numbered from twenty years old and upward"  
[1 Ch 23:27], "and there were found of them thirty-eight thousand  
men" [1 Ch 23:3]. The same were distributed into singers [v. 5],  
porters [v. 5], overseers [v. 4], judges [v. 4], and into very many  
sorts and classes. But when Judah was so small that the length was  
a three days' journey, of the width (says Jerome in his Letter to  
Dardanus) he was ashamed to speak. Let the unfaithful Christian be  
ashamed, who complains against the multitude of religious, when  
there was a much greater number of those serving God in the Mosaic  
law. For when the people of Israel were "eleven hundred thousand  
men that drew the sword" [1 Ch 21:5; cf. 2 K 24:9] (so did Joab num-  
ber Israel) it follows that the number of those serving God was the  
28th part thereof. Hence those who wish the clergy to be reduced are  
the Pharaohs, who wanted to reduce the Hebrew people serving God.

210<sup>r</sup>

On Tithes and Other Assessments.

210<sup>v</sup> "You shall not delay to pay your tithes and your first fruits"  
[Ex 22:29].

"You shall carry the first fruits of the grain of your ground  
to the house of the Lord your God" [Ex 23:19].

"This shall be the priest's due from the people, and from those  
who offer victims. . . they shall give to the priest the shoulder  
and the breast, the first fruits of grain, of wine, and of oil, and  
a part of the wool from the shearing of the sheep" [Dt 18:3f].

"All the first fruits also, which the children of Israel offer,  
belong to the priest, and whatever is offered into the sanctuary  
by everyone, and is delivered into the hands of the priest, it shall  
be his" [Num 5:9f].

1529 "Joshua gave to the Levites forty-eight cities and their sub-  
urbs" [Josh 21:39f]. ["More than sixty cities with their suburbs  
were given to the Levites [1 Ch 6].] "Moses and Aaron among his  
priests" [Ps 98:6], yet these were the supreme leaders of the people  
out of Egypt.

Samuel was a priest, according to Bede, or at least a Levite,  
as Jerome states, Against Jovinian, 1, for he was of the tribe of  
Levi. The same author attests in Comm 1 K, c. 15 that he was never-  
theless the supreme judge of the Jews.

211<sup>r</sup> The royal tribe of Judah and the priestly tribe contracted  
marriages [Lk 1:5]: hence Elizabeth the mother of St. John, the  
wife of Zechariah the priest was a cousin of Mary [Lk 1:36].

Zadok, the priest, anointed Solomon the King [3 K 1:39]; Samuel  
anointed Saul [1 K 10:1] and David [1 K 16:13]. It is no wonder  
that today the emperor is anointed by the pope, kings by archbishops:  
for so ought it to be done, not by bishops. Jehoiada, the high-  
priest, caused to reign, and anointed Joash king [4 K 11:12]: the  
wife of Jehoiada was Jehoshabeath, the sister of King Ahaziah  
[2 Ch 22:11].



Azariah resisted Uzziah, the king, invading the sacerdotal office, who was struck with leprosy [2 Ch 26:16-19].

Hezekiah commanded the people in Jerusalem to give portions to the priests and Levites, that they might give themselves to the law of the Lord [2 Ch 31:4].

Jeshua, the priest, restored the temple after the Babylonian captivity [1 Esd 3:5].

Ezra, the Levite, obtained gold and silver from King Artaxerxes for the temples and obtained permission for the Jews to leave [1 Esd 7:12-16].

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"I (Nehemiah) perceived that the portions of the Levites had not been given them, and that every man had fled away to his own region. And I pleaded the case against the magistrates, and said, Why have we forsaken the house of God? And I gathered them together, and I made them to stand in their places. And all Judah brought the tithe of the grain, and the wine, and the oil into the storehouses" [2 Esd 13:10-12]. This people on account of the famine that had arisen refused to give tithes to the Levites; therefore they were compelled to withdraw from the temple. So are the wicked laymen doing today, saying, why shall I give to the priest? I have need for myself and my children.

The Maccabees were very brave priests and leaders in war [1 Macc 2].

God reserved to himself tithes owed as a sign of universal dominion [Gen 4:3ff; Ex 22:29; Lev 27:30ff; Dt 12:6; 26:12; Tob 1:7].

"You shall set aside the tithes of all your fruits, etc. . . . that you may learn to fear the Lord your God at all times" [Dt 14:22f]. Therefore those who do not give due tithes are impious and not God-fearers.

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"All tithes of the land whether of grain or of the fruits of trees are the Lord's" [Lev 27:30]. "Of all the tithes, oxen and

sheep and goats that pass under the shepherd's rod every tenth that comes shall be sanctified to the Lord. It shall not be chosen, neither good nor bad" [Lev 27:32f]. Note the precise tithes, but according to the reckoning of the very last one.\*

"All the things that you shall offer of the tithes, and shall separate for the gifts of the Lord, shall be the best and choicest things" [Num 18:29]. "And you shall not sin on this point, by reserving the choicest and fat things to yourselves, lest you profane the oblations of the children of Israel, and die" [Num 18:32]. Note that the penalty of death remains for those who consistently give the worse things as tithes.

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"If a man afflicts God, for you afflict me. And you have said: Wherein do we afflict thee? in tithes and in first fruits" [Mal 3:8]. Note that a person not giving tithes is like those who crucified Christ, and he does injury not only to the priest but to God himself. So speaks Jerome.

"And in poverty you have been cursed" [Mal 3:9]. Note the penalty of those who do not give tithes or have given them unfaithfully: hence comes scarcity of all things; attend to our own times when all things are dear."

Augustine: "Since by giving tithes you can merit heavenly and earthly things, for your avarice you are defrauded of a double benediction. This is the custom of the most righteous Lord, that if you do not give the tithe to him, you are called back to the tithe. You will give to the impious soldier what you do not wish to give to the priest" [Decr. 2.16.166: Fr. 1.784].

213<sup>r</sup>

Augustine: "Tithes are required from what is due, and those who have been unwilling to give them invade the property of others."

"The laborer is worthy of his hire" [Lk 10:7]. "Who serves as a soldier at any time on his own pay?" [1 Cor 9:7]. "You shall not bind the ox treading out the grain" [Dt 25:4; 1 Cor 9:9].

\* Tr. note: It is the last tenth of the total on which the tithe is being reckoned, whether it is good or bad.

"If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?" [1 Cor 9:11]. "And they who serve the altar, partake with the altar" [1 Cor 9:13].

"For as many as were owners of lands or houses sold them and brought the price of the things sold, and laid it down before the feet of the Apostles and distribution was made to everyone according as he had need" [Acts 4:34f].] 1529

"Now concerning collections that are made for the saints, as I have given order to the church of Galatia, so also are you to do on the first day of the week" [1 Cor 16:1f]. These collections were made for the use of the poor of Jerusalem and for the preachers; and today Christians in Greece under the Turk support the patriarch and the clergy from collections. Hence from collecting, the prayer in the Mass is called a "collect," although there are also other mystical reasons.

After kings and princes submitted their necks to the faith, and bowed their heads to the sign of the cross, donations and gifts of benefices succeeded in place of collections. 213<sup>v</sup>

Pope Sylvester [Decr. 2.12.1.15: Fr. 1.682]: "The Apostles foresaw the future church among the Gentiles. For that reason they did not at all acquire estates in Judaea but only monies for the support of the needy. Afterwards he recalls the donation of Constantine [See Decr. 1.96.14, Fr. 1.342],<sup>1</sup> and how religious men began to possess estates. The canon is ascribed to Pope Melchiades; in ancient times it was of Pope Sylvester.

For some thought, because Judas had the purse, that Jesus had said to him: "Buy those things which we have need of for the festival day" etc. [Jn 13:29]. Augustine, [On John, Tr. 62: Decr. 2.12.1.17: Fr 1.681]: "Therefore the Lord also had a purse, and keeping the things offered by the faithful, he contributed for the needs of his own people and for other indigent persons; then first the form of ecclesiastical money was instituted, after we understood 214<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Chapter 20, p. 148, note, above.

that when the Lord commanded us not to think of the morrow, this was not commanded to the end that no money be saved by the saints, but to insure that it be useful to God."

Augustine, On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount: Christ by his example taught that no one was offended, if his servants obtained what was needful for themselves.

St. Urban I, Martyr, established before Sylvester, that the Church receive booty and funds offered by the faithful.

The following martyrs increased this: Pontianus, Antherus, Fabian, Cornelius, etc., even to Sylvester.

214<sup>v</sup> Cassiodorus, Tripartite History, 1.9: The Emperor Constantine, disposing the affairs of the clergy, provided for each city that the clergy receive sufficient pay, and confirmed this by law.

"Bring all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be food in my house, and try me in this, says the Lord. If I open not unto you the floodgates of heaven, and pour you out a blessing even to abundance. And I will rebuke for your sakes the devourer, and he shall not spoil the fruit of your land, neither shall the vine in the field be barren" [Mal 3:10f] . Stupid laymen fear lest they have less, if they provide tithes and offerings.

Augustine: "The ancient fathers accordingly abounded in plenty, because they gave tithes. Therefore it is to be feared that these persons do not prosper for they even envy the religious their begging, and prescribe a set number for the brethren, being ignorant of the generosity of the synagogue which sustained so many thousand Levites each day" [Ps-Aug. Hom. 86.10, in Gratian Decr., 2.16.7.8: Fr. 1.802].

215<sup>r</sup> Augustine [Serm. de Tempore, 277.2: Decr. 2.16.1.66: Fr. 1.784]: "If you give the tithe, not only will you receive abundance of fruits, but you will also attain health of body and of soul, for God demands not recompense, but honor."

Hence the princes and nobles of Germany were richest when they gave abundantly to the churches and monasteries. Now a scarcity of all things exists among people and princes. Greater was the splendor of the abbots of Reichenau, that is, of France and Munich, than now is that of three bishops. Charlemagne in the year 813 turned over the royal villa of Ulm with all its rights and appurtenances and adjacent places to the monastery of Reichenau. Charles became "the Great" because in giving Churches he followed Constantine the Great, who was said by Augustine [Against Petilian, 2.93] and by Ambrose [Epist Bk. 5, On the Death of the Emperor Theodosius] to be happy on account of his support of the Church. Let princes beware, lest by plundering the clergy, they prefer to imitate the impious Emperor Julian the Apostate, rather than the Most Christian Princes, Constantine, Theodosius, Charlemagne, and St. Henry.

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Cassiodorus, Tripartite History, 6: "The Emperor Julian withdrew all privileges, honors, and customs from the clergy, and annulled the laws previously put forth on their behalf." Again [6:4]: "He ordered all the possessions and moneys of the Church of Caesarea to be turned over, exacting this with lashes, to the community. And directly, he deposited by this means in the public treasury three hundred pounds of gold. And afterwards in the meantime many sacred vessels of the churches were ordered to be turned over to the fisc, and the doors of the larger Church having been removed, the sanctuary became accessible to all." Concerning Julian it is well known that he died at age thirty-two, and he ruled only one year and seven months.

216<sup>r</sup>

Cassiodorus describes at length the punishments of Julian's underlings, Felix and Helvidius.

Heliodorus, when he wished the very splendid temple of Jerusalem, was stricken miraculously by many plagues and scourges, yet, when the priest Onias prayed for him, he was restored [2 Mac 3].

"Antiochus went up to Jerusalem with a great multitude, and he proudly entered into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof, and the table of show-bread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the little mortars of gold, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden ornament that was before the temple; and he broke them all in pieces. And he took the silver and gold, and the precious vessels; and he took the hidden treasures which he found: and when he had taken all away he departed into his own country. And he made a great slaughter of men, and spoke very proudly. And there was great mourning in Israel, and in every place where they were; and the princes, and the elders mourned, and the young men and virgins were made feeble, and the beauty of the women was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation; and the bride that sat in the marriage bed mourned. And the land was moved for the inhabitants thereof and all the house of Jacob was covered with confusion" [1 Mac 1:22-29]. Concerning his departure it is written: "It happened as he was going . . . that he fell from the chariot" [2 Mac 9:7] "and by the heavy shock to his body his members were vexed . . . so that worms swarmed out of his body, and while he lived in sorrow . . . his flesh fell off, and the filthiness of his smell was noisome to the army" [v. 9] ". . . since no man could endure to carry, for the intolerable stench" [v. 10] ". . . Among the mountains he died a miserable death" [v. 28].

217<sup>r</sup> Alcimus, wishing to destroy the temple, "was stricken with paralysis, so that he could no more speak a word . . . and died at that time in great torment" [1 Mac 9:55f].

Nicanor with thirty-five thousand was killed [2 Mac 15:27]; his head with his execrable hand, which he had stretched out against the holy house of Almighty God, was cut off [v. 30, 32]; they were hanged up over against the temple, and his tongue cut into pieces was given to birds [v. 32-33].



Balthazar, drinking out of the vessels of the temple, was killed the same night [Dan 5:3, 30], "and Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom" [v. 31].

Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury, was killed for the rights and property of his Church; when the brethren were celebrating Mass for the dead, angels stood near and entoned joyfully the Laetabitur justus, etc. Therefore let princes beware of counsellors who, for the advantage of the kingdom and the preservation of dominion, advise 217<sup>v</sup> (on account of extreme necessity) that Churches be despoiled.

"The Shechemites gave seventy weight of silver out of the temple of Baalberith to Abimelech, wherewith he hired for himself men that were needy and vagabonds" [Judg 9:4]. This he did to obtain the rulership. "But a woman, casting a piece of millstone, hit the head of Abimelech, and broke his skull" [Judg 9:53].

"King Ahaz gathered together the silver and gold that could be found in the house of the Lord, and in the king's treasures, and he sent it to the king of the Assyrians" [4 K 16:8], in order that he might save him "out of the hand of the king of Syria, and of the king of Israel" [4 K 16:7]. The impious, idolatrous king did this, not content with the protection of God promised him by Isaiah [Is 4].

Therefore it will be the duty of a good prince to love and defend the clergy, to keep intact the privileges granted them, and to leave his goods to churches and ecclesiastics; but to drive as far away from his borders as possible heresies and heretics; in this 218<sup>r</sup> he will prepare for himself and for his subjects peace and tranquillity and will merit eternal life with the ancient most Christian<sup>1</sup> princes.

CHAPTER 34  
CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF CHURCHES AND THEIR DECORATION<sup>1</sup>

The heretics despise the Church of God and her adornment they remove:<sup>2</sup> the Anabaptists would have none at all. They revive the heresy of the Massilians, whom Augustine mentions in his Sermon against the Arians; the Sagarellans and the Wycliffites have followed this error, against the express statements of Scripture.

218<sup>v</sup> Jacob said: "Indeed the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not . . . . How terrible is this place! This is no other but the house of God, and the gate of heaven" [Gen 28:16f]. "And he called the name of the name of the place Bethel," [v. 19] that is, the house of God. "You may not offer the passover sacrifice (phase) in any of your cities, but in the place which the Lord your God has chosen, that his name may dwell there" [Dt 16:5f].

David confesses: "The word of the Lord came to me, saying: You have shed much blood, and fought many battles, so you cannot build a house to my name, after shedding so much blood before me. The son who shall be born to you, shall be a most quiet man . . . . He shall build a house to my name" [1 Ch 22:8-10]. See with how much care God provided for the building of the temple, which he did not will to be done by a warrior, but by the peaceable Solomon.

God said: "I have walked in a tabernacle, and in a tent, in all the places that I have gone through with the children of Israel" [2 K 7:6f]. Note that He who is everywhere walked in a tabernacle.

219<sup>r</sup> Solomon built the temple. He sent ten thousand men each month to Lebanon, to fell trees, seventy thousand to carry burdens, and eighty thousand stone cutters, three thousand three hundred overseers of the work [3 K 5:14-16].

"The house before the oracle he overlaid with most pure gold, and fastened on the plates with nails of gold. And there was nothing

<sup>1</sup>Chapter added after 1529.

<sup>2</sup>On the Reformed critique of opulence in ceremony, see H.O. Old, The Patristic Roots of Reformed Worship (1975). pp. 37f.

in the temple that was not covered with gold; but the whole altar of the oracle he covered also with gold" [3 K 6:21f]. Later: "he covered the Cherubim with gold" [3 K 6:23]. Later: "The floor of the house he also overlaid with gold inside and out" [v. 30]. "Solomon made all the vessels in the house of the Lord: the altar of gold, and the table of gold, upon which the show-bread should be set [7:48]; and the golden candlesticks, five on the right hand and five on the left . . . of pure gold . . . and the lamps of gold, the golden snuffers, [v. 49] and pots, and fleshhooks, and bowls, and mortars, and censers of purest gold; the hinges of the doors were of gold" [v. 50].

"The Lord said that he would dwell in a cloud. Building, I have built a house for thy dwelling," said Solomon [3 K 8:12f].

219<sup>v</sup>

"Solomon said: The Lord promised that he would dwell in darkness, but I have built a house to his name, that he might dwell there for ever" [2 Ch 6:1f].

God more propitiously and swiftly answers prayers in a sacred place than outside it.

The Gibeonites, at the command of Joshua, became cutters of wood for the use of the temple.

"When King David came and sat before the Lord," [1 Ch 17:16] that is, the ark. You see that He was more present in one place than in another, because in the ark there was a more sacred place.

When Daniel could not pray in the temple, because he was in the Babylonian captivity, he still prayed thrice a day, with his face toward the temple in Jerusalem [Dan 6:10].

King Cyrus, who played the part of Christ, gave permission for the rebuilding of the temple of the Jews [1 Esd 1:1f]. Darius confirmed the concession made by Cyrus, and the Jews built it, and prospered, according to the prophecy of Haggai and Zechariah [1 Esd 6:1ff].

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"My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples, says the Lord God" [Is 56:7]. Christ confirmed this statement concerning the material temple from which he cast out the sellers. "You, he said, have made it a den of robbers" [Mt 21:12f]. Thus many governors make dens of heretics out of churches.

"A man . . . planted a vineyard . . . and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen" [Mt 21:33]. The vineyard was the synagogue of the Jews; the tower, the temple; but because they killed the son, the vineyard was let to other husbandmen, Christians. And just as the priesthood was to be transferred, so also the temple into the churches of Christians [Heb 7:12].

220<sup>v</sup> The Jews said to Christ about the centurion: "He loves our nation, and he has built us a synagogue" [Lk 7:5]. The building of a synagogue pleased Christ. Why would not the building of a church please him? "Peter and John went up to the temple at the ninth hour" [Acts 3:1]. See how the Apostles prayed in the old temple, when as yet the Christians did not have churches. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, 3.

St. Paul rebuked the Christians who were confusing churches with suppers and banquets [cf. 1 Cor 11:20f]. Hence we can say to the heretics what Paul said to those rash folk: "Or do you despise the Church of God?" [1 Cor 11:22].

In the time of the Apostles churches began to be built. Thus, Paul and Barnabas established presbyters in each church [Acts 14:22], in which Paul bade women keep silence.

221<sup>r</sup> "An infidel or unlearned person entering a church, falling down on his face, will worship God, affirming that God is among you indeed" [1 Cor 14:24f].

St. John, about to die, ordered that he be carried into the church. Jerome, On the Epist. to the Galatians.

St. Paul saw the house of Cornelius which had been made a church [Acts 10:22], and likewise the small houses of Philip

[Acts 21:8], and the bedchamber of the four virgins. Jerome mentions these in his Life of St. Paula.

In many passages Augustine attests that building churches was an act of adoration (latría), which the grateful faith of the believers owe to God; therefore temples are not built or consecrated to the saints, but to God, in memory and veneration of the saints (Against Faustus, 20; DCD, 22; Against Maximus, and in many other passages).

The bishop is to see to it, in consecrating altars and temples, which in the titles of the inscription always set God first, attaching the honor of the saints thereunder. For the act of adoration (latría) is a service owed to God alone, not to the saints, although in churches and altars we also venerate the saints, and celebrate their birthdays in remembrance. Those who know the Christian literature of both testaments, do not blame on the sacrilegious rites of the pagans the fact that they constructed temples and established priesthoods, and performed sacrifices, but because they exhibit these to idols and demons. Augustine, To Deogratias, Q. 2.

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Through the fabric of the churches and any necessary uses, the demons are expelled by those whom they previously possessed as their own (Augustine, On the Harmony of the Gospels).

The temple of the synagogue was brightly ornamented.

"Of every man who offers of his own accord, you shall take them" [Ex 25:2]. Later: "Gold, and silver, and brass, violet and purple, and scarlet twice dyed," etc. [Ex 25:3f] " . . . oil for lights, spices . . . of good odor, onyx stones, and precious stones" [Ex 25:6f]. Later: The ark was gilded "within and without, with the purest gold" [Ex 25:11]. "Bars . . . overlaid with gold" [v. 13] in "four golden rings" [v. 12]; "a mercy-seal of the purest gold" [v. 17], golden Cherubim [v. 18], "a table overlaid . . . with gold," with a golden ledge [v. 24], <sup>1</sup>"four golden rings" [v. 26], "dishes, and bowls, censers, and cups . . . of the purest gold" [v. 29], " a candlestick

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of the purest gold" [v. 31], and snuffers [v. 38], "the curtains of the tabernacle of . . . linen, violet and purple, and scarlet twice dyed" [Ex 26:1], with fifty loops [v. 5] and rings of gold [v. 6]. "The boards themselves you shall overlay with gold, and shall cast rings of gold to be set upon them" etc. [v. 29]. See other details in text.

222<sup>v</sup> "They shall make an ephod of gold and violet and purple, and linen embroidered with divers colors" [Ex 28:6]. "And you shall take two onyx stones," [v. 9], "set in gold, with the engraving of a jeweler, you shall engrave them" [v. 11]. "You shall make also hooks of gold" [v. 13], "and two little chains of purest gold," etc. [v. 14]. In the rational [v. 15] you shall set four rows of stones: of carnelian (sardius), topaz, emeralds [v. 17]; carbuncle, sapphire and diamond [v. 18] jacinth, agate, and amethyst [v. 19]; chrysolite, onyx, beryl [v. 20]. You shall make on the rational, two golden chains [v. 22] and two rings of gold [v. 23]; likewise a golden bell on the robe [v. 34]; a golden plate [v. 36] in the violet fillet [v. 37].

"Every one of the children of Israel shall give a price for their souls . . . namely, half a shekel . . . in the sanctuary" [Ex 30:12f]. For the perfecting of all the above things and many more, God "filled Bezalel with the spirit of God, with wisdom and understanding and knowledge in all manner of work, to devise whatever may be made by an artificer in gold and silver and marble and precious stone, and he gave him as his companion Oholiab" [Ex 31:2-6].

The people carried out all the above precepts, "and offered with a devout and most ready mind first fruits to the Lord," etc. [Ex 35:20f]. Every golden vessel was set apart to be given to the Lord, so that the artisans said to Moses: "The people are offering more than is necessary" [Ex 36:5]; hence the people were forbidden to offer any more.

Solomon caused equally precious things to be made [3 K 6].



The princes of Israel offered in the dedication of the tabernacle twelve dishes of silver, twelve silver bowls, twelve little mortars of gold. They weighed together 2,400 shekels of silver [v. 85], and 120 shekels of gold [v. 86], twelve oxen, twelve rams, twelve lambs [v. 87], twenty-four oxen, sixty rams, sixty buck goats, sixty lambs [v. 88]. Offerings daily [Num 28:18], on the Sabbath [v. 9f], on the first day of the month [v. 10-15], the Passover [v. 16-25], Pentecost [v. 26-31], trumpets [29:1-6], atonement [v. 7-11], tabernacles [v. 12-38], are accurately listed by Moses.

King Cyrus restored the golden vessels removed by Nebuchadnezzar [1 Esd 5:14f].

King Darius provided for the costs of the offerings [1 Esd 6:8].

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King Artaxerxes likewise also permitted that Ezra collect from all the province of Babylon, and that the people give, which was decided to carry to Jerusalem [1 Esd 7:11ff]. Therefore, not personally visiting St. James,<sup>1</sup> they can send gifts; the same is true of other holy places.

Ezra weighed into the priests' hands, gold and silver, and vessels, which the king and his counsellors, and his princes, and the whole of Israel, had offered, that is, of those that had been found [1 Esd 8:25]. And he weighed 100 talents of gold, [v. 26], and 20 cups of gold [v. 27], and 650 talents of silver [v. 26].

"We shall make ordinances for ourselves, to give a third of a shekel every year for the work of the house of our God, for the loaves of show-bread, and for the continual sacrifice" [2 Esd 10:32f].

The rich temple is not condemned for receiving the increase of its adornment even from a poor widow [Lk 21:2f].

<sup>1</sup>St. James of Compostella, in Spain, a popular pilgrimage shrine in the Middle Ages.

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The most Christian princes made immense gifts to most holy churches,\*as well as most ample largesse, and the emperor determined that sacred vessels, except for the redemption of captives, should in no wise be withdrawn or given in pledge. Constantine the Great constructed the Lateran Church.<sup>1</sup>

And he determined that the patrimony of the Church should remain unharmed.

The heretics do not rejoice in a physical church, because they are the enemies of the spiritual church.

The heretics do just as the Jews, for whom it was difficult to give earrings for the adornment of God, yet too readily gave them for the golden calf [Ex 32:4]. Thus the reigning heretics complain of the expenses of the temple, and of the Catholic priests, but they are prompt in giving ample pay to the perverse calves of the heretics and seducers.

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The heretics condemn churches, but love crypts and caves, as Jerome has eloquently reasoned in Comm. Hab., and Ambrose has said many things [On Epist. Eph., 5; On Luke 5]. We have experienced this in the Catabaptists.

In the heretics is verified that saying of Christ: "Behold, your house shall be left to you, desolate" [Mt 23:38]. For the Church being desolate, these men seek caves.

"If therefore they shall say to you: 'Christ is in the desert,' do not go out. 'Behold, he is in the closets,' believe it not" [Mt 24:26]. Thus the Anabaptists now often have assembled in groves, and in private conventicles, seeking Christ where He is not.

The heretic Faustus denied temples, altars, incense, likenesses, and sacrifices---things capable of being grasped by the senses---these he placed in heaven alone [Augustine, Against Faustus, 20]. The unhappy heirs of this man are the heretics of our time.

<sup>1</sup>The Basilica of the Redeemer, now St. John Lateran, the diocesan church of the Bishop of Rome: omnium ecclesiarum Urbis et Orbis mater et caput.

The Donatists also burned the churches of Christians (Augustine, Letter to Count Boniface). See what leaders the heretics follow--Donatists, Manicheans, Sagarellans, Massilians, Wycliffites, Hussites, Picards, and if there is anything worse than these.

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Objections of the Inflammatory and Sacrilegious Heretics.

1. Stephen says: "The Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands" [Acts 7:48].

2. Paul says to the Athenians: "He, being Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples made with hands, nor is he worshiped with human hands" [Acts 17:24f].

3. God is in every place, and no place is shown, in which God is particularly present, but everywhere he hearkens to sinners. Therefore Churches confer nothing.

4. Paul says: "I wish men to pray in every place, raising clean hands" [1 Tim 2:8].

5. Christ said of the temple: "Amen, I say to you, here not a stone will be left upon a stone, which shall not be destroyed" [Mt 24:2].

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6. "The true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth" [Jn 4:23].

7. Jeremiah says: "Trust not in lying words, saying: The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, it is the temple of the Lord" [Jer 7:4]. Jerome interprets this: "Do not have faith in the splendor of buildings, and in gilded ceilings."

8. Jerome, Epist. to Nepotianus: "Now the poor Master has dedicated the poverty of his house, in contrast to the wealth of Solomon's temple."

9. Persius [Sat. 2.70] says: "O you pontiffs, tell us what gold is doing in a holy place. Namely, dolls given to Venus by a virgin."

Response of the Faithful Ministers of the Church.

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1. God is not in temples, as the pagans think, for God does not dwell in the temple, there circumscribed according to his essence, but there dwelling through more abundant grace. Solomon teaches this solution: "Therefore it is not credible that God should dwell with men upon earth. If heaven and the heaven of heavens do not contain thee, how much less this house, which I have built? But to this end only is it made, that thou mayest regard the prayer of thy servant," etc. [2 Ch 6:18f].

2. Likewise, unless the heretic is quoting Paul's words in a mutilated form, God is not worshiped by human hands, needing something. Therefore God is not worshiped by us, that he should need our help.

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3. This was the reason of the ungodly seducer and idolatrous King Jeroboam, as Josephus [8.12] attests: God is everywhere, but he wills to be prayed to and honored in one place more than in another. Hence Jeroboam falsely persuaded them not to pray when fatigued by a long journey [3 K 12:27]. This also our heretics say against pilgrimages to the dwelling places of the saints. Therefore, our heretics are Jeroboamites, just as he did not wish the Jews to go up to Jerusalem.

4. In every place, namely a suitable one, one is to pray. Ambrose said this, because otherwise they falsely thought that one was not to pray outside the Church.

5. The temple of the Jews was rightly to be destroyed, but just as the Gospel priesthood succeeded their priesthood, so also our churches, sacrifices, etc., succeeded their temple.

6. The true worshipers in the churches worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for why should one oppose the church while not opposing a grove or the filthy grottoes of the heretics.

7. Jeremiah there expressly attests to the place chosen by God. For he says: "And I shall dwell with you in this place"

[Jer 7:4]. And he means that the sanctity of the temple is not benefited, when they do not follow good paths. The addition of Jerome, who also declares his position on the splendor of perverse doctrines.

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8. Jerome rightly censures the decoration of churches, to the neglect of the poor; for he regards the decorating of churches themselves to be praiseworthy, and on this account praises Nepotianus. He was concerned whether the altar glistened, the pavements were cleansed, the vessels shining, and godly care disposed upon all ceremonies. He thereupon compares Nepotianus with Bezalel and Hiram.

9. Persius is learnedly quoted. After the heretics demand clear scripture texts from us, they also press upon us the pagan poets, as Luther, the patriarch of the heretics did; when he wished to prove that everything happens from absolute necessity, he quoted the poet: "By law all things stand sure." With such valid defenses the heretics fortify their own! Let us not accept Persius, since he does not know God. And let him, with all the heretics struck with anathema, not know God.

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CHAPTER 35  
CONCERNING THE (INDELIBLE) STAMP (CHARACTER)<sup>1</sup>

The Church believes also that the faithful are in three sacraments impressed with a certain seal of the soul, which is called "stamp," namely, in baptism, confirmation, and orders.

"Grieve not the Holy Spirit . . . in whom you have been sealed unto the day of your redemption" [Eph 4:30].

"In whom you also, after you had heard the word of truth, (the gospel of your salvation) in whom also believing, you were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, who is the pledge of our inheritance," etc. [Eph 1:13f].

It is clear that in the regeneration of baptism the faithful are sealed by the Holy Spirit, so that the sheep of Christ are set apart from others.

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Jerome explains the words of Paul: The seal of God is, as the first man was created to the image and likeness of God, so, in the second rebirth, whoever follows the Holy Spirit, is sealed by him, and receives the figure of the Creator."

The same author: "We are sealed by the Holy Spirit of God, in order that also our spirit and soul may be imprinted with God's seal," and later.

This seal of the Holy Spirit is sealed, with God imprinting it, according to the declaration of the Savior. "For him has God, the Father, sealed" [Jn 6:27]," and later.

"He who for this reason is sealed, that he may preserve the seal, and show it on the day of redemption, pure and sincere, and in no part mutilated, and on this account it deserves to be numbered with those things which have been redeemed."

Note that the stamp remains even to the day of judgment.

<sup>1</sup>Chapter added after 1532.



Athanasius, On Ephesians, 1: "The Jews of the circumcision, after the custom of beasts, having received the seal of the flesh, were branded with marks, but upon you as children of God, beyond what the condition of flesh permits, the sign of the spirit has been imprinted."

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The same author, On Ephesians, 4: "The Spirit has sealed us, and has made us to be of the royal flock, and in no wise allows us to consort with criminals and condemned persons, but has imprinted the seal, and has distinguished that we may be redeemed and free from anger of that sort."

"And I shall set a seal among them, and send from among those who shall be saved, to the nations by the sea, in Africa," etc. [Is 66:19]. The prophet foresaw that the apostles and disciples would be sent to the nations, namely, those who have the seal, the stamp of God.

The Stamp, according to Jerome's view, was prefigured in the blood of the lamb, which was marked on the lintel and both door posts, that the avenging angel might pass over.

For this stamp was also figured by Tau. "Mark Tau on the foreheads of men, weeping and sorrowing over all the abominations, which occur in our midst" [Ez 9:4]. Later: "Accordingly, do not slay anyone on whom you see the Tau" [Ez 9:6]. Thus Christ in baptism seals the door posts of the soul with the merit of his blood, that souls may be freed from the devil.

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Dionysius, Ecclesiastical Hierarchy 2.3 [PG 3.397-400]: "The divine majesty admits the one acceding to baptism into His inner fellowship, and thereupon gives to him His light and a sign making him holy and participant in the order of the saints." Note that he calls stamp "light."

"Now through baptism we receive the first fruits of the Holy Spirit, and the beginning of another life takes place in us, that is, the first fruits of regeneration, and seal and guardianship,

and illumination, and sanctification." Note that the stamp is a seal [Ch. 10].

229<sup>v</sup> Augustine, On Baptism Against the Donatists, 6.1: "He has sufficiently shone upon the pastors of the Church, that the sheep who was wandering outside, and had outside received the Lord's stamp from deceiving pillagers, coming to the safety of Christian unity, is corrected from error, yet the Lord's stamp in her is recognized rather than rejected, inasmuch as many wolves imprint this very stamp upon wolves, he speaks of those baptized by heretics, returning once more to the Church."

Augustine, Epist. to the Donatists [Epist 204]: "And you are the sheep of Christ; you bear the Lord's stamp, in the sacrament which you have received."

Augustine, On John, Tr. 5: "If a baptized person does not have charity, he indeed has a stamp imposed, but as a deserter he wanders."

The stamp is imprinted in three sacraments, namely, baptism, confirmation and orders.<sup>1</sup>

Gregory, [Epist. 2.10.46 (22): PL 77.583ff]: "Your statement, that he who is ordained, should be ordained again, is utterly ridiculous, for as he was once for all baptized, he ought not to be baptized again; so he who has been once consecrated, does not have to be consecrated again in the same order."

230<sup>r</sup> Augustine [Against the Epistle of Parmenian, 2.13.28: PL 43.70]: "Both (baptism and order) are sacraments, and by a certain consecration both are given to man, one when he is baptized, and another when he is ordained. Therefore it is not permitted in the Catholic Church to repeat either one."

"Now he who confirms us with you in Christ, and who has anointed us, is God, who also has sealed us, and given the pledge of the Spirit in our hearts" [1 Cor 1:21f].

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Eugenius IV, Exultate Deo (Mansi, 31.1054; Denziger, Ench. No. 695: ET p. 221). On the indelible character, especially as applied to Orders, see Peter Lombard, Sent., 4.24.13; also Thomas Aquinas, ST, PT 63.6; PTS 35.2.

Objections of Luther.

1. The stamp is a fictitious thing, which Scripture is ignorant of.<sup>1</sup>

2. How can water impress such a sign on the soul?

Reply of the Catholic.

1. The Stamp is not something invented by the fathers, but with the Holy Spirit as teacher, men of God understood it, as has been shown from Paul [cf. Eph 4:30; 1:13f].

2. Water does not imprint such a sign in the soul, but God imprints it, at the presence of the water of baptism, with his own omnipotence assisting. And in this Christians exceed the Jews: for we have the seal of the Spirit; they had the seal of the flesh.

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CHAPTER 36  
CONCERNING TRANSUBSTANTIATION<sup>1</sup>

Before the Council of Nicea the Church did not use the term consubstantiality, (homooousios); but was compelled on account of the heretics to adopt it; likewise, person.

In the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the substance of the bread is converted into the substance of the body of Christ. Thus the substance of the bread does not remain. "Taking the bread, he gave thanks, and broke it, and gave it to them saying: 'This is my body.'" Matthew, Mark and Paul agree. Note that he took bread, but after the blessing was finished, he called it his body, which would not happen without its being changed. No Evangelist says "with this" or "in this," but "this is my body." Ponder what this proves. Alphon-sus, Against Heresies [6.4; 10.10].

"The bread which I shall give, is my flesh for the life of the world" [Jn 6:52]. This would not happen unless there was a conversion.

Cyprian: "This common bread, changed into flesh and blood, obtains life." And later: "This bread which the Lord was extending to his disciples, not changed in appearance but in nature, has by the omnipotence of the Word become flesh."

John of Damascus, 4.14: "It cannot be readily explained how by nature bread and wine and water undergo a natural conversion through drinking into body and blood for the one who eats and drinks, but there is no other body than what existed before: thus also how supernaturally the shown bread and wine and water through the invocation and coming of the Holy Spirit are transmuted into Christ's body and blood, but they are not two, but one and the same.

Ambrose, On the Sacraments 4.4: "The word of Christ will avail to change the species of the elements."<sup>2</sup> Ambrose: This bread is

<sup>1</sup>Chapter added after 1532.

<sup>2</sup>Decr. 3.2.69 (Fr. 1.1340), quoting Ambrose, De Mysteriis, c.9.

bread before the words of the Sacraments; but when consecration occurs, from bread it becomes the flesh of Christ."<sup>1</sup> Again: "It was not the body of Christ before consecration, but after consecration, I say to you, that now it is the body of Christ; He said it, and it was done."<sup>2</sup> Again: "Therefore, you have learned, that from the bread the body of Christ is made, and that the wine and water are mixed in the cup, but it becomes blood by the consecration of the heavenly word."<sup>3</sup> Again [c. 3]: "Before it is consecrated, it is bread; but when the words of Christ have been added, it is the body of Christ." Later: "See, therefore, into how many kinds the Word of Christ is capable of converting all things."<sup>4</sup>

John Chrysostom, Hom. 60: "The works set forth are not of human power: He who then did these things in that supper, now also does them. We hold the place of ministers, but he who sanctifies these things and changes them, is Christ Himself."

Augustine, The Sentences of Prosper:<sup>5</sup> "We honor in the species of bread and wine, which we see, things invisible, that is, flesh and blood." [Later] "We confess before the consecration that is bread and wine which nature formed; but after consecration the flesh and blood of Christ, which the blessing has consecrated."

Gregory: "Christ the good shepherd gave his life for his sheep, that in our sacrament, he might change his body and blood and he might satisfy the sheep which he had redeemed by the food of his flesh."

Gregory of Nyssa: "The invisible priest converts, by the word the secret power, visible creatures into the substance of his body

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<sup>1</sup>Decr. 3.2.55: Fr. 1.1334, quoting Pseudo-Ambrose, De Sacramentis, 4.4.

<sup>2</sup>Decr. 3.2.55: Fr. 1.1335, quoting Pseudo-Ambrose, De Sacramentis, 4.4.

<sup>3</sup>Decr. 3.2.55: Fr. 1.1335, quoting Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Decr. 3.2.55: Fr. 1.1335, quoting Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Decr. 3.2.41: Fr. 1.1328. Fr. n. 530 attributes this to Lanfranc, Contra Berengarium, c. 13.

and blood, saying: 'Take, this is my body.'" Gratian attributes this to Eusebius of Emesa [Decr. 3.2.35: Fr. 1.1325f<sup>1</sup>].

Gregory: Appearance and likeness of those things were words which previously were "bread" and "wine."

Theophylact: "After he had blessed, he broke bread, which we also do, with the addition of prayers, This is my body; This, I say, which you take. For the bread is not only a figure of the Lord's body, but into it the body of Christ is changed."

233<sup>r</sup> Theophylact on John 6: Transformed indeed by secret words through the mystical blessing upon the flesh. And later: Therefore the bread in the flesh of the Lord is now changed, that is, by the living nourishment of the bread it will be changed into the flesh, and was made like his holy flesh. Therefore: Now the bread is changed into the flesh of the Lord. Theophylact: The bread is transmitted into Christ's body and it will change in truth into bread and beneath the bread also wine, flesh and blood.

Transubstantiation is possible: "Therefore the Lord God formed man from the dust of the earth" [Gen 2:7]. Note that God changed dust into flesh.

"The Lord God formed the rib, which he had taken from Adam into woman" [Gen 2:22].

Note that the bone of the rib is changed into woman.

Lot's wife, looking back, was turned into a pillar of salt [Gen 19:20].

Moses cast down a rod, and it was turned into a serpent [Ex 4:3].

"I will strike with the rod . . . the water of the river, and it shall be turned into blood" [Ex 7:17].

<sup>1</sup>Friedberg n. 416. Not by Eusebius, but some attribute it to Eucherius of Lyons, others to Hilary or Caesarius of Arles, some finally to Rabanus or Bede. Ivo Decr. 2.4; Peter Lomb. 4.8.



And there are other texts adduced by Ambrose, On the Mysteries.<sup>3</sup>

Exodus 16:31 "The manna was like coriander seed," and yet it is called bread. Psalm 77:24; 104:40.

The devil recognized this power to change in Christ: "If you are the Son of God, he says, tell these stones to become bread" [Mt 4:3]. 233<sup>r</sup>

Christ from five loaves fed five thousand people; this he did by multiplying bread. He now sacramentally feeds the whole Church of the faithful with the one loaf of his body.

#### Objections of Luther.

1. The substance of bread remains in the Eucharist, for Scripture calls it "bread."

"Moreover the apostles were persevering in teaching and in the communicating of the breaking of bread" [Acts 2:42].

"The bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the Lord's body?" [1 Cor 10:16].

"But let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of the cup" [1 Cor 11:28].

2. The evangelists also call it bread.

3. The eucharist is like red hot iron, in which remains both the nature of fire and the nature of iron; thus in the eucharist remains both the nature of bread, and the nature of Christ's body. 234<sup>r</sup>

#### Response of the Catholic.

No creature, especially an irrational one, is worthy to be mingled with the blessed body of Christ, otherwise the Word would assume breadness in the unity of the prime substance.<sup>2</sup> Luther however has not yet shown to us in the Scriptures, that the Word

<sup>1</sup>Most of the OT texts just quoted, or suggested, are from Decr. 3.2.69 (Fr. 1.1339f), quoting Ambrose On the Mysteries, c. 9, but Ambrose's close reasoning is imperfectly transmitted in Eck's mere enumeration of proofs. Eck also has used the On the Sacraments long attributed to Ambrose but now thought to be apocryphal.

<sup>2</sup>suppositum

has become bread. Therefore, one must stand by the decision of the council [Decret. Greg. IX, 1.1.1,<sup>1</sup> Fr. 2.5f; 3.41.6, Fr. 2. 636-639]. "Cyril: Lest we should be stricken with fear at flesh and blood set upon the Sacred altar, he pours out the wine of life upon the elements offered, changing them into his own true flesh."

Ambrose [Paschasius, De Corpore et Sanguine Christi, c. 1, quoted in Decr. 3.2.74: Fr. 1.1344] Although the figure of bread and wine is seen in the altar, we are to believe them to be nothing but the flesh and blood of Christ."

1. What Luke and Paul call "bread," is not to be understood according to nature, but in a fourfold manner:

Proverbs 23:6: "The bread of falsehood" was not bread by nature.

i. Because before conversion it was bread, in like manner the serpent is called "rod," because it was a rod. "But the rod of Aaron devoured their rods" [Ex 7:12].

ii. According to the species of bread and accidents, just as an image is called from an image; just as Solomon made oxen, and little lions, because they made images of them [3 K 10:18].

iii. The eucharist also is called "bread," because in it is "the living bread that came down from heaven" [Jn 6:51].

iv. By reason of the body of Christ which is called "bread" in Jeremiah [11:19]: "Let us put wood in his bread," they put the wood of the cross in the body of Christ.

2. The evangelists call it "bread" before consecration, but when this has been accomplished, they call it "the body of Christ."

Irenaeus: After the invocation it is not common bread, but is removed from earthly matter, and becomes heavenly [AH 4.17f].

<sup>1</sup>Here is cited the famous confession of faith of Innocent III which constitutes Canon I of the Fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215.

3. Iron is not changed into fire; hence iron is not fire, but glowing hot. For it so strongly takes heat into its density, that also splendor shines in it. Therefore let Luther be ashamed of comparing the most venerable sacrament with red hot iron, when the substance of iron remains, but not bread in the eucharist. Ambrose says [Decr. 3.2.74: Fr. 1.1344]: "It is clear that the figure of bread and wine is seen; yet, after consecration, one is to believe nothing else than the flesh and blood of Christ." Here he openly denies the substance of bread, when he affirms that nothing else is here, than the flesh and blood of Christ.

CHAPTER 37

THAT MASSES ARE TO BE SAID IN LATIN, NOT IN GERMAN<sup>1</sup>

235<sup>v</sup> That the more important languages of the time of Christ were three: namely, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, is indicated by the title affixed to the cross of Christ [Mt 27:37; Jn 19:19f], in which languages God is not undeservedly praised, and especially in these languages are the divine offices carried out.

Yet we do not deny that it is permitted to the East Indians, that they do the divine office in their own language, which their clergy today observe, as we ourselves have seen and heard, although mysteries of the Mass, since it cannot be translated into Italian, we cannot have it from them.

The same thing with regard to old Church Slavonic is very widely attested by others, as [had been] accomplished by Jerome [for Latin], as Melchionensis, in the Chronicles of the Poles testifies: In memory of the men of Cracow in the Chapel of the Holy Cross (if I rightly remember the name, for I do not have the book at hand), masses were celebrated in Slavonic; yet the nations of this language long ago gave up this privilege, and now conform to the Latin of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

236<sup>r</sup> And because the triumphal title of Christ was written in the three principal languages, as it is seen at Rome on the Holy Cross (in Jerusalem),<sup>3</sup> although with some of the letters having quite fallen away. Thus it is no wonder that the Latin Church uses in the sacred mysteries words of the sacred language (= Hebrew) and of Greek.

The Hebrew word alleluia means, "praise God"; hosanna means, "pray, save (us)."

<sup>1</sup>Chapter added in 1532 (fol. M9<sup>v</sup> - M12<sup>r</sup>): It is argued from the Scriptures that the Mass, as well as the Canonical Hours are to be said in Latin and not in German.

<sup>2</sup>Note that Eck passes over the wide use of Slavonic, after Cyril and Methodius, in the Eastern Orthodox Church. See p. 269, below.

<sup>3</sup>A reference to the Basilica-Hierusalem Sessoriana (c. 300) a church at Rome which housed fragments of the true cross, later replaced by the baroque church Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

Amen means "let it be done," or "so it is in Truth,"  
"faithfully."

Sabaoth means, "hosts," "virtues."<sup>1</sup>

Kyrie eleison means, "Lord, have mercy." Christe eleison means  
"Christ, have mercy." Hagios ho theos iskiros athanatos eleison  
imas means, "Holy God, strong, immortal, have mercy on us." Why the  
Church has kept some Hebrew, is explained by Origen and Augustine.

I have described the Greek Mass from the book of the Archbishop  
of Rhodes, and Joannicius Corcyrensis Basilianus has written another  
to me, and has shown all the actions and rites through the order for  
very many days also, yet no one remembers this, although it is attri-  
buted to Remigius.

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And if the Italians and the Greeks have their own common speech:  
yet for neither is the Mass celebrated in the vernacular, but in the  
erudite and learned speech, so that it is not necessary to follow the  
various idioms of the language.

The reasonable custom of the Church, of the Latin Mass in the  
Latin Church.

1. Because the Mass has been celebrated for more than a thou-  
sand years, when Germany accepted Christianity where a more urgent  
reason appears to have been at hand for reading Masses in German for  
the new plantation, and yet the most holy men famous for miracles  
have observed the use of the Latin Church.\*

2. It would engender great confusion, that when Italians,  
Spaniards, French, English, Hungarians, Bohemians, etc. come to  
us, they would not understand the action of our Mass, and all  
would seem to be barbarians to one another, and the Mass would be  
held in contempt.

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3. And not only would confusion occur between divers nations,  
but also scandal would be caused in the same nation. For in Germany

<sup>1</sup>One of the orders of angels.

itself, some use one word, others another, and what in one district means something honorable, in another something filthy. And diversity in pronunciation in Germany would lead to such great dissonance, that it would be more confused than Babylon.

4. A greater irreverence would be done to the mystery, if it were carried out in the common speech so that it would be made fun of at the crossroads and in the barbershops, and at convivial banquets, as now happens in Lutheran places, and once upon a time pastors were punished by divine judgment, by fire fallen from heaven.

237<sup>v</sup> Therefore Dionysius often mentions how the masters of the faith, that is, the Apostles, most diligently saw to it that the Holy of Holies not be brought forth in the presence of profane persons, and for that reason they handed down those supreme and supersubstantial things to us, partly in written and partly in unwritten institutions. Therefore it is quite enough in the Catholic Church for the Mass to be read in the Latin and Greek languages, for the generality of peoples who have entered the Church, in these two languages have distinguished themselves in wisdom and power. Therefore, the ancient custom of the people of God, as Augustine, To Januarius, says, is to be considered as having the force of law. The Church determined that the words of consecration together with certain other words are said secretly in the Mass; since also the high priest alone and once a year entered into the holy of holies: are not the mysteries of our faith more sacred?

238<sup>r</sup> The Jews were barred from the more sacred place, and there was a veil before them (Heb 9); no wonder then that the Church has forbidden laymen from being close to the celebrant, in order that he may accomplish this holy secret more freely (On the Life and Honor of Clerics, c. 1). Hence they are accustomed to veil the altar with curtains and tables, in order that the priest may remember to give assent to the handling of the secret mysteries.



Luther in his preface harshly treats those, who wish the canon of the mass to be read in a high voice, that it may be understood: Why, then, that the Mass may be understood, does he only want it to be read in German and in the loudest voice?

Christ prayed in silence and secretly, and withdrawing from his disciples [Mt 19:36; Lk 22:41].

Objection of the Heretics.

Paul forbids the Corinthians to speak in church in a language that is not understood, for he says: "Who shall hold the place of the unlearned? How shall he say, Amen, to your blessing, because he does not know what you are saying?" [1 Cor 14:16].

Now if the Mass is read in Latin, the laymen do not understand it.

And thus the hearing of it bears no fruit, as if the sermon were delivered to a wall.

Response of the Catholics.

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1. On the words of Paul, in our homilies we showed that prayer not understood is meritorious [Rogations, Hom. 3].

What the heretics twist to the Mass, we reply that Paul is speaking concerning the prophet, that is, the interpreter and teacher of the Scriptures, for so is "prophet" here used, as Jerome and Augustine attest. Therefore anyone would in vain preach to Germans in an unknown language, but of the Mass Paul makes no mention here: this is clear from Paul's words: "But in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I may instruct others also . . ." [1 Cor 14:19]. Ponder "I may instruct," which is done by preaching, not by celebration of the Mass. See the above-mentioned homily.

2. And if the laity do not understand the words, yet they understand all mysteries, which they imbibed from their childhood

239<sup>r</sup> or the teaching of their parents, or the preaching of the parish priests. Therefore, now with kneeling, now with rising, now with inclining, now with breast-beating, and making the sign of the cross, they accommodate themselves to the celebration of the Mass. Hence this outward action shows they understand more of the mystery of the Mass than if Cicero, Livy and Varro, most learned in the Latin language, but not instructed concerning the mystery, heard the words.

3. The hearing of the Mass is not unprofitable, even when the words are not understood, for the following reasons:

i. Since in the Mass, Holy Scripture is received into use, but through it the Holy Spirit speaks, in whatever language used, it instills it upon hearts.

ii. The priest in the Mass is the common minister of the whole Church [1 Cor 4]; therefore all hearers of the Mass ought to repose their trust in the faith of the Catholic Church, for she, as His most beloved bride, pleases God more than the faith of a private individual.

239<sup>v</sup> iii. The goal of the Mass is withdrawn from no hearer of the Mass, whether he understands or not: for he knows the end of the Mass and the special intention of the Church, namely, that that sacrifice is offered for the living and the dead, in memory of the passion and death of Christ, to the praise of God, for the upbuilding of the Church, to the honor of St. Mary, and of all the saints. What if that understanding of the layman is so sharpened by devotion, that he surpasses the prudence of many who understand the words of the dry Mass? For it is a fact that the devotion of one who prays can sometimes be hindered by too much attention to the words.

240<sup>r</sup> iv. Also the mysteries of the most holy Mass are not unfolded in the vernacular: it is sufficient that in homilies and exhortations to the people these things be explained according to the custom of the Church, where the people are instructed in faith and

morals, so that to no one at all, at least to a godly and frequent hearer of God's word, is the understanding of the mysteries of the Mass hidden, not even to a mute or deaf person. Thus does the merciful God will that all men be saved.

Let us therefore conclude: the Latin Mass is enough for Germans, since they are of the Latin Church, since there are three principal languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin: and not without mystery, Pilate, not knowing these, wrote down Christ's title 259 [Jn 19:19-22]; and we ought reverently to recognize the mysteries of the Savior under these, and the greatness of the mystery, as Augustine, Alcuin, Isidore, Bede, and others attest.

Addition to Note 2, Page 264

Thanks to the kindness of the Director of the Jagiellonian Library at the University of Krakow, Poland, Prof. dr hab. Wladyslaw Serczyk and his staff, this has been identified as a reference to Maciej from Miechow, Chronica Polonorum (Krakow, H. Wietor, 1519), pp. CCXCI-CCXCII: "In the year of our Lord 1390, the fifth day after the Feast of St. James the Apostle, King Wladislaus with his consort Queen Hedwig, founded a monastery of the Order of St. Benedict, of Slavs from Prague, entitled "Of the Holy Cross," outside the walls of Krakow, in the town of Kleparz, and choir of the church with the sanctuary to be completed, as is noted. They laid only the foundations of the church, which lay hidden under the earth. And they assigned a wooden house with a garden for the monks, and a dowry of 20 marks of Krakow thalers [?], in order that the monks might celebrate and carry out with deep voice both the canonical hours and masses in the Slavonic language. When Queen Hedwig died, the prior provision and the building were suspended. But in my childhood a Slavic priest continued masses in the Slavonic language. Finally, when Slavonic was abandoned, it was replaced by the Latin language, first under Nicolaus Lithwas Archdeacon of Lublin, then under Albert the Royal Steward who took over this very church with the kings' concession."

[My translation.]

CHAPTER 38  
CONCERNING PRIVATE MASSES\*

240<sup>v</sup> "Moreover they were continuing steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine and in the communication of the breaking of bread, and in prayers" [Acts 2:42]; and later: "Also they continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, ate their food with gladness" [Acts 2:46]. Although this could be understood as relating to the common food, the Gloss understands it of the sacrament, "in the breaking is understood as communion." "And the bread we break, is it not the participation of the Lord's body?" [Cor 10:16] But they were not in the house, when at the ascension the faithful numbered one hundred twenty [Acts 1:15]. On the day of Pentecost they numbered three thousand [Acts 2:41], and soon five thousand [Acts 4:40].

Alexander I, Pope and Martyr, allowed a priest, if it were necessary, to celebrate two masses, "one for the dead, the other for the daily service" [Gratian 3.1.53: Fr. 1.1308]. He permitted to the priest two masses in the same church, of which the one for the dead was private.

241<sup>r</sup> Honorius III writes as follows to all the prelates of the churches: that each day there be carried out "the rites of masses of the anniversaries of the dead, and for the time or festival" [Decr. Greg. IX, De Celebr. Miss., 3.41.11: Fr. 2.642f].

If two masses are necessary, he by no means excluded other free masses.

Therefore the Council of Agde [recte, Council of Tribur] did not prohibit special masses "of Holy Trinity, of St. Michael" but only that the mass of the day be not omitted on account of the special mass [Decr. Greg. IX 3.41.2: Fr. 2.636].

Telesphorus, Pope and Martyr, established that the rite be celebrated thrice on the Nativity of the Lord [Gratian, 3.1.48: Fr. 1.1306f]. And Innocent III [Decr. Greg. IX, 3.41.3: Fr 2.636].

Soter, Pope and Martyr, established "that no priest should hold the rites of masses unless there were two present responding to him, with himself the third" [Gratian, 3.1.61: Fr. 1.1311]. He did not forbid a private mass, but only prescribed the manner in which it was to be performed.

The Council of Laodicea (c. 58) forbids offerings to be made in houses. Therefore it does not forbid private masses in churches; other councils also caution against this.

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The Council of Agde [Gratian, 3.1.35: Fr. 1.1302]: "If anyone wishes to have an oratory in a field, outside the parishes in which a gathering is lawful and ordinary, apart from festivals, in order that he may hold masses there on account of the weariness of the family, we permit it juxta ordinem. But on Easter, Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension Day, Pentecost, and John the Baptist's Birthday, and any highly esteemed days of the festivals, they are heard only in the cities or the parishes. But if any clergy wish, without the command or permission of the bishop, to carry out or hold worship during the festivals above-mentioned in oratories, let them be banished from communion."

The Sixth Synod [Council of Agde, c. 21]: "Let clergy who minister in oratories which are inside houses do this with the consent of the bishop" [Gratian, 3.1.34: Fr. 1.1302]. The Council of Orleans: "When it is fitting to celebrate masses in God's name." [Gratian, Decr. 3.1.65: Fr. 1.1302] Note: masses in the plural number.

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In the Tripartite History [Book 9, c.9 ]:\* "When the people were gathered there [at the Basilica of Anastasia] for masses, a woman falling from the upper porch, when common prayer was made over her, revived, thanks to the masses." Observe the plural: masses.

\*cf. Sozomen, 7.5.

Leo writing to Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, orders sacrifice to be repeated on account of the multitude of people assembled together, lest "a part of the people be deprived of their devotion" [Ep. 9, AD 445, Gratian, 3.1.51: Fr. 1.1307].

For the same reason, when it is not convenient for all people to gather at one time, through occupations and divisions of activities let it be provided that more masses be celebrated.

In the Tripartite History [Book 9, c. 8],\*when Gregory Nazianzus was made Bishop of Constantinople, he performed rites within the city in a small oratory.

242<sup>v</sup> Thus St. Conrad celebrated private masses in a chapel on Lake Constance. St. Ulrich at Augsburg in a private chapel. Thus St. Wolfgang, having built a chapel above a lake, celebrated private masses there. Hence so many chapels belonged to cathedral churches that canons celebrating privately might not draw the people away from the rites of masses in the great festivals. Hence the priests of kings and princes, privately celebrating for them, were called "capellani."

The Council of Tribur: "When a church burns, it is permitted to celebrate the masses with a consecrated table" [Gratian, 3.1.30: Fr. 1.1301f].

243<sup>f</sup> Jerome: John the Almsgiver, Patriarch of Alexandria, accosting people out of doors intent on stories at the time of worship said to them: "Where there are sheep, there ought also to be a shepherd: either enter the church and I shall be with you; or if you stay here, I also shall remain with you; on your account I have gone down to the church; I could say masses for myself in the episcopal residence."

NOTE: Private masses in the episcopal residence.

Gregory, Letter to Castorius [Epist. 2.41 : PL 77.578]: "We utterly forbid public masses to be held there [in the monastery] by the bishop: lest by the departure of the servants of God, occasion for popular tumults may ensue."

\*cf. Sozomen, 7.5.



He prefers in monasteries the private masses of the monks to the public one of the bishop. If only one public mass is to be celebrated in one church, then in vain was it established at the Council of Auxerre that "at the altar in which the bishop had sung mass, on the same day it was not permitted to a priest to celebrate mass" [Gratian, 3.2.97: Fr. 1.1352].

Gregory in the Life of St. Benedict, 2.23: "Nuns excommunicated by Benedict were buried in the church. When the rites of the mass were celebrated in the church with the deacon shouting 'if anyone does not communicate, let him give place': they were seen by their nurse to come out of their graves, and to go forth." He speaks of masses that were wont to be celebrated on the thirtieth or fortieth day after death, when it was customary to perform oblations for each. Just as this nurse daily made oblations for dead nuns.

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Pope Gelasius to the bishops established throughout Calabria and Basilicata, etc., commends that in churches erected without consent of the Apostolic See, they suspend masses. Note the plural masses. [Gratian 3.1.6: Fr. 1.1295]

Pope John gave permission to the illustrious woman Megacia that in their oratory the divine offices be celebrated in the name of the dead only. Now these rites were nothing but private masses [Gratian 3.1.7: Fr. 1.1296].

Augustine [City of God, 22.8]. Hesperius, of a tribunitian family, who is among us, has a farm called Zubedi in the Fussalian district, where, after he had learned that his house was, with the affliction of his animals and servants, suffering from the noxious force of unclean spirits, he requested our presbyters, in my absence, that one of them cleanse it. They acceded to his prayers; one hastened there, offered the sacrifice of the body of Christ, praying as much as he could that that vexation might cease; and God being merciful, it straightway ceased.

Augustine [Confessions, 9.11] Monica said to her own:<sup>+</sup>  
 I beg only this of you, that you remember me at the Lord's altar,  
 wherever you may be." Later: "When the body was taken away . . . .  
 During the prayers which we poured out to thee when the sacrifice  
 of our redemption was offered for her--while the body, as the cus-  
 tom there is, lay by the grave before it was buried--during those  
 prayers we did not weep" [Ibid, 9.12].

Observe:

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1. Sacrifice of the mass approved.
2. That is beneficial for the dead--contrary to these  
denying purgatory.
3. Sacrifice of the mass to be privately applied--as  
here to Mother Monica.
4. Here a private mass is held.
5. Formerly, mass was celebrated for the dead before  
burial [ob Erd besingen].
6. That Augustine did not begin this, but it was cus-  
tomarily done there in the Year of Our Lord 387.

Thus St. Ambrose read a mass for Theodosius, which was no-  
thing but a private one.

Augustine [among the chapters of Theodulf of Orleans, d. 821,  
 Mansi, 13.1005, c. 45, 46: note from Fr. 1.1307n594]: "And this  
 is to be attended to: that special masses, which are performed on  
 solemn days by priests are not so to be done in public, that on  
 their account one is to be drawn away from the public rites of  
 masses, which are done canonically at the third hour. But the  
 priests who are in the environs of the city or in the city itself  
 and the people are to gather together for the public celebration  
 of masses." [Gratian, 3.1.52: Fr. 1.1308]. Note: special  
 masses; note: the public celebration of masses. Therefore there  
 was not one only.

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The Council of Africa [Conc. Carth. V, AD 401, c. 48] decreed:  
 "That altars which are set up here and there in fields and on roads,  
 +Suos, i.e., Augustine and his brother.

in which no body or relics of martyrs are proved to have been incorporated are to be destroyed by bishops." [Gratian 3.1.26: Fr. 1.1300]. Therefore the ones in which there are such relics ought not to be pulled down.

Ambrose attests that he celebrated daily: who believes on this account that the other priests at Milan were all silent? Thus St. Bernard, celebrating at Rome, Naples, Milan, Pettau, Rheims, Speyer, etc. Who could persuade a fool that all priests abstained from oblation, as if at the coming of such a great man, there would be no joy, but the prohibition of ecclesiastical offices?

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Gregory has irrefutable evidence, in a passage, against this new error: we recount some of it: Letter 3.63 [PL 77.660f]. He orders to be dedicated a monastery of nuns at Naples in the village of Lampadi. As often as it was necessary, venerable sacrifices of masses should be celebrated by the presbyters of the church in the above-mentioned place. These were private masses. Timothea, a famous woman, requested that an oratory be consecrated in honor of the Holy Cross. Gregory agreed, provided she would not have a baptistry, nor a cardinal priest [Ep. 2.12: PL 77.548].

Palladius, Bishop of Seckingen, constructed a church in honor of St. Peter and Paul, Apostles, as well as of Laurence and Pancratius, Martyrs. There he placed thirteen altars, of which four remained not yet consecrated, on account of the lack of relics. He orders it to be provided that suffrages for food not be lacking to those serving.

There is no doubt that in the larger churches there was more than one altar.

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William the Abbot, Life of St. Bernard, 1.12.58: PL 185.258D]: When Bernard was ill, prayers were offered by the brethren at the three altars in the same basilica. First, in honor of the Blessed Mother of God; two at side altars in honor of Blessed Laurence the Martyr and Blessed Benedict the Abbot.

When there was a schism at Pettau and St. Bernard had gone there to remove the schism, he celebrated mass. But when he departed, the deacon broke the altar at which the holy man celebrated. Who then would believe that the sole altar in the cathedral church was broken!

Gregory [Epist 12.43] ordered the Bishop of Syracuse to permit in the house of Valentinus the Patrician the rites of masses to be carried out, and if he were at any time called, he would himself celebrate.

246<sup>v</sup> The same Gregory [Epist 1.15] commanded that in the church of Populonium three priests be installed, where otherwise one would suffice for public mass.

The same Gregory ordered a bishop of the old city not to forbid masses to be celebrated in St. George's monastery. [1.12]

Thus he ordered Felix Bishop of Sipontum to install two parish priests in the Canossa church [1.53].

Even in the Old Testament there were two altars. One was outside the tabernacle for whole burnt offerings [Ex. 30:1ff]. The other was the golden altar of incense inside the tabernacle: and on both each day were made oblations, and in one often even on the same day, as is clear from Leviticus and Exodus.

BY WAY OF APPLICATION: It was not difficult for a Catholic to understand that a priest could apply the utility of the mass to one or another, just as it was in the Old Testament.

247<sup>r</sup> "And if the whole multitude of the children of Israel sin through ignorance . . . then they shall offer a young bullock for the sin" [Lev 4:13f]. Later: "And when the priest is interceding for them, the Lord will be propitious to them" [Lev 4:22f].

"If a ruler has sinned. . . he shall offer his offering before the Lord, a kid of goats" [Lev 4:22f]; and the following: "And the priest shall intercede for him and it shall be forgiven him," [Lev 4:26]. He speaks similarly at the end of the chapter [Lev 4:35].

"The soul that swears," etc. [Lev 5:4]. "Let him offer from the flock a lamb or ewe; the priest shall pray for the soul, and for its sins" [Lev 5:6].

Later: "He should offer for his sin a like tenth part of an ephah and turn it over to the priest, who will burn it upon the altar in remembrance of him who offered it, interceding on his behalf and making expiation." [Lev 5:11f]

Twice he lays out like matters in the same chapter.

"Go to my servant Job, and offer a whole burnt offering for yourselves: [Job 42:8].

Job sanctified his sons and he offered a whole burnt offering individually for each [Job 1:5].

"I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life . . . . For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Savior . . . ." [1 Tim 2:1f].

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Ambrose: This church rule was handed down by the Master of the Nations, which our priests use, to pray for all. Praying for the kings of this world.

Tertullian, Apology [c. 39]: We pray also for emperors, and their ministers, and powers, for the condition of the world, for the quiet of things, for the delay of the end." And chapter 30: With hands extended and heads uncovered, and finally without an admonitor, we Christians are all praying at all times for all emperors, that they may have long life and secure rule, a safe house, strong armies, a faithful senate, upright people, a quiet world, and whatsoever of man and Caesar have been promised.

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Epiphanius to John, Bishop of Jerusalem: When we offer sacrifices to God, and fulfill prayer according to the rite of the mysteries, we speak both for all and for you also. Keep him who preaches the truth. Or surely thus. Grant O Lord and keep him that

he may preach the word of truth, just as the occasion of the sermon leads him, and may his prayer be fulfilled.

#### First Reason

248<sup>v</sup> Now no one doubts that anyone can apply his own prayers to whom he will, just as Abraham says: "O that Ishmael might live before thee!" [Gen 17:18]. Thus God commanded the Jews to pray for the tyrant Nebuchadnezzar, who was holding them captive. "Pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, and for the life of Belshazzar his son, that their days may be as the days of heaven upon earth" [Baruch 1:11]. And everywhere Scripture teaches us to pray for one another. Just as Paul testifies he did, and sought to be done for himself [2 Thess 1:11; 3:1]. Since the mass is both an exhortation and supplication, why cannot the priest receive the gathered supplications for parents, for the emperor, for benefactors, for a sick friend, since David prayed, and wept for the sick child [2 K 12:22]? Elisha also prayed for the dead [4 K 4:33]; therefore the mass can be conveniently applied, both by way of sacrifice and by way of prayer.

#### Second Reason

249<sup>r</sup> We all confess the mass to be the remembrance of the death, and of the victim offered on the altar of the cross. Since it is good to remember the death of Christ and its very great benefit just as Christ enjoined, "This do in remembrance of me" [1 Cor 11:26] hence the Eucharist is called a good gift, thanksgiving as Chrysostom, Irenaeus [AH 4.34], etc., state. What then forbids remembering the Lord's death more often in the same church? Or what then should a priest wish on behalf of his own person even privately to repeat the remembering of such a great benefit, according to the prescription of the Church?

#### Third Reason

Ad hominem: 'Since that sacrifice is to be continually offered daily and in each city, more could be faithful, who desire to remember this sacrifice, even if they do not partake: ought they to lack



devotion, and be neglected by a lax priest, for the reason that they are not present to partake, since it would be a damnable novelty, already dreamed up by cold and impious priests, that celebrating the mass and consecrating it against the precept of the church, they do not communicate. Council of Toledo [XII], Canon 5 [Gratian Decr. 3.2.11: Fr. 1.1318]. Any priest, who is about to take his turn of sacrificing at the divine altar approaches it, and suspends himself from communion, from that grace of communion from which he has unseemly deprived himself, let him know himself debarred for one year. For of what sort will that sacrifice be, of which he himself not sacrificing is recognized not to be a participant? Therefore in every respect it is to be held that just as often as he, sacrificing, immolates the body and blood of Jesus Christ on the altar, so often should he make himself participant in receiving of the body and blood of Christ."

Therefore this contrary novelty has arisen at the instigation of the devil, because he wished to remove the frequent remembering of Christ's passion from men.

#### Fourth Reason

Since Augustine says [Against the Epistle Called Fundamental of Mani, 5.6; cf. Calvin, Inst., 1.7.3]: "I would not have believed the Gospel if the authority of the Church had not moved me to it," \* and the practice of the Church is the best interpreter of Scripture and of the canons, who would dare, against the custom of the Catholic Church, to disapprove of private masses, in so many kingdoms and provinces, in so many cathedral churches, metropolitan and parochial, in monasteries of all orders - in which according to ancient institution everywhere more masses are celebrated on the same day as among the Praemonstratensians, Cistercians, etc. I do not mention collegiate and parish churches, and so many simple benefices, among which some are very ancient. In like manner, chapels everywhere are visited. Where there were two hundred, three hundred monks in a monastery, who believes there were so many priests who only celebrated one mass? How would they have conferred any most ancient benefits, if they had not performed private masses?

\*Cf. p. 13, above.

#### Fifth Reason

250<sup>v</sup> How great an inconvenience would it be for bishops, princes, and other nobles, and pious persons, who deeply desire daily to hear and see this sacrifice of praise, but frequently around that hour of public mass are on weekdays occupied with business. Therefore it was best provided for by catholic princes that counsellors have a private mass before undertaking counsel. Similarly, it happens at Rome before the Rota, the Chancellery and the Penitentiary. Besides, counts, nobles, and noble ladies in castles on account of distance of place, storms, and heat, on account of sickness of body, old age, and other causes, cannot conveniently come to public mass.

#### Sixth Reason

251<sup>r</sup> And all these things are proved by the Ambrosian Missal [as the oldest authority], where on certain feast days as on the day of the Lord's Resurrection, one office takes place in the lesser church for the baptized, and another in the greater church. Likewise, on the Feast of Pentecost. From this it is clear that those were private masses for the baptized.

#### Objections of the Heretics

1. We do not care how a plurality of masses has arisen: it is enough for us that the church of our fathers does not remember them: for example, "massings" of earlier times are proved with difficulty from Gregory.

2. St. Francis wished only one mass to be celebrated by the brethren each day, according to the form of Holy Roman Church.

3. Pope Honorius wished only two masses per day to be read in collegiate churches.

4. One reads of only one altar, not of more.

251<sup>v</sup> 5. A single altar is proved from the decrees of Pope Hyginus; and the Council of Meaux says: superfluous altars are to be destroyed.

6. Jerome, Commentary on Amos, says that a church has one altar. Also, On Isaiah: One altar, just as one faith, one church.

7. Augustine, Chrysostom, Ignatius, Cyprian, and the Apostolic Canons speak of altar in the singular number.

8. Ambrose calls priests "ministers of the altar" not " of altars"; and we speak of "the sacrament of the altar," not " of altars"; and in the Lord's Supper there was only one table from which they drank and ate.

9. Basil, On Psalm 115, would not allow a private sacrifice, but a public one, and a common sacrifice with which all the people had communion of the divine ministry, etc.; these are strong words against the present abuses: in order that the hand of God may uproot them without a hand. Amen.

#### Reply of the Catholics

1. He assumes it to be false that because we showed there were formerly more masses, there were also many altars. Gregory does not disapprove of Palladius with twelve altars: but only charges him with providing the ministers with food.

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2. We deny this was St. Francis' intention, when the churches of the Minorites, erected during the lifetime of the Holy Father, spread, with more altars; nor do the Minorites recognize the letter cited. Or if he speaks of one mass only, Francis is not understood by those arguing against us: he is speaking in the Lord's Supper: for even on that day also, they had one mass only, which was also observed at Rome. And formerly it was observed in Germany, as one reads in the ancient missals of our diocese of Eistet, under a rubric of this sort: When the oblation has been broken, the priests first communicate, then the deacons, and the rest of their order. And the deacon, taking the cup, does not immediately consume the blood, but puts it on the left side of the altar until after the Magnificat, then the deacon consumes the blood and all the rest afterward.

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3. He misinterprets Honorius, for Honorius does not speak exclusively, but is saying that you should permit no sluggishness

of negligence to creep in without celebrating masses both for the anniversaries of the dead and on festivals or holidays; he calls it sluggishness and negligence, if only one mass is said.

4. On the contrary, one reads of more than one altar, as we have demonstrated. Elisha complained: "They have destroyed thine altars" [3 K 19:10, 14]. And David: "Thine altars, O Lord of Hosts" [Ps 83:4]. Near Rottenburg there is a mountain named from worms [Wurmlingenberg] above Tübingen where the most noble Count Albrecht á Calvo established the anniversary day of his death to be celebrated with all parish priests, and on this day is celebrated there, since there have been named in that place 22 Parishes in this deanery, if I rightly remember. For I have been away for so many years from the territory of Wirtemberg and Hohburg (about forty years). Therefore individuals celebrate masses even if they do not have so many altars in one chapel, yet even today one priest after another reads mass. So it is done to this very day. Who then will be so insane as to think this most godly count established this, if there were not previously a solemn rite and custom among catholics?

5. We recognize no decree of Hyginus, in opposition to our view; let him set forth anything he has: if he should answer harshly against the Church - all the harder he'll be treated by us. It is wonderful that he dared adduce the Council of Meaux to the effect that superfluous altars be destroyed. To this I would rejoin, as an old theologian of logic: I admit that superfluous altars are destroyed; therefore, conversely, let those not superfluous remain.

6. On this point it is shameful to speak, since they display such open ignorance, yet attempt to say anything of substance. Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and before them Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, confess one altar, that is, one manner of sacrifice, not a schismatic one, in the entire Church. And in this sense the Holy Fathers speak; a madman is he who, in the many churches of the whole of Christendom, would establish one material altar. Cyprian the martyr teaches this, writing to the whole people: "God is one, and Christ is one, and the Church is one, and there is one seat founded upon the rock by the Lord's voice." No other altar can be

established, no new priesthood made, on account of the one altar and one priesthood.

O READER, WEIGH how much the grammatical theologians wander from the truth.

7. It is childish to suppose that the leaders of the Church advocate the remembering of the altar, as if they wanted only one, yet the grammarian teaches according to his intellectual discipline

one indefinite to equal a universal, and a singular a plural. Is David speaking of one man, when he says: "What is man, that thou art mindful of him" [Ps 8:4], "Man will approach the depth of the heart; it is man's task to prepare the mind" [Ps 63:6]? or: "Man is born to trouble," [Job 5:7]? There are a thousand sayings like these in the prophets, Gospels and apostles.

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8. This objection is empty and ignorant, since one cannot deny that the eucharist is truly consecrated and offered on more than one altar, albeit distant ones. They deceive themselves when they cite the deed of Christ as relating to one table, since in the Lord's Supper one only Christ was consecrating, for only the apostles were partaking. Now there are many celebrating.

9. Basil adverts to the killing letter; since that great man most clearly explains himself that he disapproves of a private sacrifice of the heretics and schismatics. For he says: "Not fleeing secretly the quarrels of the ungodly, I shall extol your honor: but I shall make public sacrifice; I shall take your people as partners in worship." See what ungodly private sacrifices he disapproves, for there follows: "Hear ye who leave the Church; and, gathering in public homes, cause miserable splittings of the precious body." And all consequent schisms are detested. Hence these words do not overthrow the best use of the Church concerning private masses, a use which the hand of God will by no means uproot, but the hands of the ungodly and of evildoers. I on the contrary beg the author of the opposite opinion that God may give him a spirit healthy, chaste, and truthful. Amen.

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Let us conclude with this statement of Jerome, Comm. on Zechariah:

"In the time of the persecution, let the priests of the Church boldly repromise the believing captives that the churches are to be built again, and the tranquillity of peace is to return." Therefore at sometime through God's mercy, the heresy of Luther, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Blarer, Osiander, Schnepsius and the like, will cease, and the firm truth of the faith will flourish once more. Do this, good Jesus, and quickly.

The Usefulness of the Enchiridion, from Augustine, Tractate on the Epist. of John.

All things which are read in the Holy Scriptures we are to listen to intently for our instruction and salvation: yet ought they be committed to memory, which are of more value against the heretics, whose stratagems do not cease to circumvent the weaker and more careless brethren.

To God alone be the glory.



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\*Also: 94a, 138, 181, 250

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Chapter 1

Page 7

<sup>1</sup>See J. Courvoisier, De la Réforme au Protestantisme: Essai d'Ecclesiologie Réformée (1977), especially Chapter 2, "Le Catholicisme Romaine," pp. 35-50, referring to Eck's Enchiridion (Lyon Ed. of 1572).

<sup>2</sup>Calvin, Harm. Ev., Mt 5:19 [CTS 1.279]: "The Kingdom of Heaven means the renewal of the Church, or the prosperous condition of the Church, such as was then beginning to appear by the preaching of the Gospel."

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Calvin, Institutes, 4.1.2.

<sup>4</sup>Calvin, Inst. 1536, ET 266.4, n. (p. 420) [cf. 1559 Ed., 4.8.12].

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<sup>1</sup>On Luther's conception of the Church as a spiritual unity, see "An Answer to the Celebrated Romanist of Leipzig" [Augustin Alveld], ET Philadelphia Edition [hereafter, PE], 1.349ff. See also p. 10, below.

<sup>2</sup>On the charge of the Romanists that Luther taught that Christ forsook His bride the Church for 500 or a 1000 years, see P. Fraenkel, Testimonia Patrum: The Function of the Patristic Argument in the Theology of Philip Melancthon (1961). On the Lutheran theory of the progressive corruption of faith, especially note pp. 105f, and n. 273. Also cf. Calvin, Inst. 1536, PA 3 [ET, p. 6, line 17, note (p. 319)].

<sup>3</sup>See p. 7, n. 1, above.

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<sup>1</sup>See p. 8, n. 2, above; also Calvin, Inst. 1536, PA 7 [ET, p. 15, lines 23ff].

<sup>2</sup>Calvin rejects the Roman Catholic claim of doctrinal infallibility apart from the Word [Inst., 4.8.10-16]; see also Inst. 1536, ET p. 264, line 19, n. (p. 419); Inst. 4.8.11: Individual Christians and the whole Church must keep within limits of God's Word.

<sup>3</sup>Calvin, Inst., 4.8.14, n.17.

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<sup>1</sup>Calvin, Inst. 1536, ET, p. 261, line 4, n. (p. 418) [cf. 1559 Ed., 4.8.10]; p. 264, line 23, n. (p. 420 [cf. 1559 Ed. 4.8.11n12])

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., PA 3 [ET, p. 6, line 16, n. (p. 319)].

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<sup>1</sup>On Calvin's use of Jer 2:13, see Inst. 1536, ET, p. 4 and p. 26 (First Commandment).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Chapter 4, pp. 45ff, below.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst. (1559), 1.7.2: "The Church Itself Grounded upon Scripture" [Eph 2:20].

<sup>2</sup>On the name 'Pacimontanus' see Corpus Reformatorum, Opera Zwinglii [hereafter, CR Zwingli] , 8.254, n.1.

## Page 13

<sup>1</sup>Calvin, Inst. (1559), PA 4, n. 36 [LCC 20.22]; cf. Zwingli, Commentary True and False Religion, 14 [ET 3.373]; also Disputation of Ilanz (1526) and Disputation of Bern (1528), para. 1 [Kidd, Documents of the Continental Reformation, #217]; cf. para. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Note that both Eck and Luther argue in the same way, but from different premises:

Luther: Church Tradition and Councils disagree	→	∴ Word of God
Eck: Scripture and Church Practice disagree	→	∴ Church over [Scripture]

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 1.7.2: "the acceptance of Scripture had to precede the founding of the Church"; cf. Bucer, in D. Wright, Commonplaces of Martin Bucer, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Zwingli, Exposition of the 67 Articles, Art. 1; also, Calvin, Inst. 1.7.3; Luther, Babylonian Captivity, PE 2.274. Augustine's statement is repeated at Ch. 38, p. 279, below.

<sup>5</sup>See pp. 45ff, below.

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<sup>1</sup>These arguments are rejected by Bucer, *Lectures on Ephesians* (1550-1) [see D. Wright, *Commonplaces*, 8, The Church, pp. 216f] as "a misrepresentation and fallacious reasoning."

<sup>2</sup>Note Eck's exploitation of differing baptismal formulae between Mt 28:19f and Acts 2:38; cf. Calvin, *Comm. Acts* [CTS 1.120].

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Luther, *On Councils* (1539), PE 1.150.

<sup>4</sup>Calvin, *Comm. Acts* 15:28 [CTS 2.78f].

<sup>5</sup>Cf. schema of Calvin in *Inst.* 4.8ff.

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<sup>1</sup>Calvin, *Inst.* 1536, ET, p. 261, line 19, n. (p. 419); *Inst.* (1559), 4.10.17.

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<sup>1</sup>Augustine, *Homilies on I John*, 1:12 [ET, LCC 8.268].

<sup>2</sup>Portions of Cochlaeus, *De Autoritate Ecclesiae*, translated in Calvin, *Inst.* 1536: 1.3 [ET p. 261, line 19 (p. 419)]; [ET p. 264, line 23 (p. 419)]; [ET p. 267, line 1 (p. 420)]; 1.4 [ET p. 261, line 13 (p. 418)]; 1.5 [ET p. 267, line 1 (p. 420)]; 1.6 [ET p. 259, line 8 (p. 417)].

<sup>3</sup>Juan Torquemada (1388-1468), especially in his *Summa: De universa ecclesia, De universalibus conciliis*. Torquemada wrote especially against Wyclif and Hus.

Chapter 2

Page 18

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Luther, *On the Councils and the Churches* (1539), Luther's Works, American Edition [hereafter LWAE], 41.1; PE 5.4.

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<sup>1</sup>Luther, PE 5.150-152.

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<sup>1</sup>Calvin, *Inst.* 1536, PA 4 [ET, p. 9].

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<sup>1</sup>Calvin, *Inst.* 1536, ET p. 267, line 29, n. (p.421); *Inst.* (1559 Ed.) 4.9.3n4.

<sup>2</sup>PL 33.221. Cf. p. 229, below. This Epistle of Augustine is cited also by Luther, On the Councils and the Churches (1539) [PE 5. 144-146], to the effect that Augustine could be speaking only of two Councils - Nicea I (AD 325) and Constantinople I (AD 381), neither of which he knew at first hand. Ephesus I (AD 431) occurred the year after Augustine died.

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\*Cf. Zwingli, Exposition of the Sixty-Seven Articles, Art. 8.

\*\*Luther, On the Councils [PE 5.170]: "The dear holy Fathers were men...."

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<sup>1</sup>Luther, On the Councils [PE 5.150f], attempts to show that even in the so-called "Apostolic Council" [Acts 15:28], "The Holy Ghost has decreed" is to be questioned.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Calvin, Comm. Gal., ad loc.

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<sup>1</sup>Hieria (AD 754)

<sup>2</sup>Nicea II (AD 787)

<sup>3</sup>Rimini (AD 359)

<sup>4</sup>Milan (AD 355)

<sup>5</sup>Antioch (AD 341)

<sup>6</sup>Seleucia in Isauria (AD 359)

<sup>7</sup>Calvin, Inst. 1536, ET p. 270, line 25, n. (p. 422); Inst. (1559 Ed.) 4.9.9.

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<sup>1</sup>Calvin, Inst. 1536, ET, p. 271, line 34, n. (p. 422); Inst. (1559 Ed.) 4.9.11n17.

<sup>2</sup>See p. 41, below.



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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst. (1559 Ed.), PA 6, n. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted by Calvin, Inst. 1536, ET p. 15, line 9, n. (p. 325).

Chapter 3

Page 28

<sup>1</sup>At the Leipzig Debate (1519), Eck debated with Luther the authority of the pope and the apostolic origin of the papacy.

<sup>2</sup>Cf Jean de Launoy, Epist. 7 (Opera, 5.2, pp. 101-104).

<sup>3</sup>ET: Ante-Nicene Fathers [hereafter, ANF], 5.374.

<sup>4</sup>ET: ANF, 5.341.

<sup>5</sup>Or Sermon 48.

<sup>6</sup>Alphabetical Psalm against the Party of Donatus, ET, Battles: lines 240f:

"That is the proud rock which even hell's  
proud gates can never overcome." [cf. Mt 16:18]

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\*1541 Ed.: Tractat. 75.

\*\*Or 4.30? [ANF 7.133f].

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\*1541 Ed.: commonitionem. 1572 Ed.: communicationem

\*\*\*"...Where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's!"

\*\*\*Note in 1529 Ed., fol. 8v; also 1541 Ed., fol. 27v, margin.

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<sup>1</sup>Reference to Orosius not in 1541 Ed.

<sup>2</sup>praeterea; 1541 Ed., propterea = "for that reason."

Chapter 5

Page 59

<sup>1</sup>Luther, Freedom of the Christian Man, LWAE 31.346; also Proceedings at Augsburg, LWAE 31.270.

<sup>2</sup>Luther, Explanation of the Ninety-Five Theses, Th. 38, LWAE 31.196.

<sup>3</sup>Luther, Proceedings at Augsburg, LWAE, 31.271.

<sup>4</sup>Augustine, On Faith and Works, cf. 14.21 [CSEL 41.62]

<sup>5</sup>Luther, 95 Theses, Th. 25, LWAE, 31.55.

#### Chapter 6, Page 63

<sup>1</sup>On Confirmation, see Gratian, Decr., 3.5.1-9 (Fr. 1.1413-1415); for Luther's judgment on it, see Babylonian Captivity [PE 2.255f].

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 4.19.6.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *ibid.*, 4.19.6

<sup>4</sup>On Luther's adverse judgment of this pseudonymous work, see Babylonian Captivity [PE 2.275].

#### Chapter 7

##### Page 65

<sup>1</sup>For Luther's judgment on Order, see Babylonian Captivity [PE 2.273-284.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* [PE 2.277f.]

##### Page 69

\*The "Priesthood of all believers" according to Eck.

#### Chapter 8

##### Page 72

<sup>1</sup>Luther, Babylonian Captivity [PE 2.219]: "When men despair of the first plank, which is the ship, as though it had gone under, and fasten all their faith on the second plank, that is, penance ... this produces those endless burdens of vows, religious works, satisfactions, pilgrimages, indulgences and sects (factions in the monastic orders), whence has arisen that flood of books, questions, opinions and human traditions, which the world cannot contain; so that this tyranny plays worse havoc with the Church of God than any tyrant ever did with the Jewish people or with any nation under heaven. Cf. Luther, *ibid.* [PE 2.245-255].

<sup>2</sup>Calvin, Inst., 3.4.20ff; also 4.12.1-13.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 3.4.15.

<sup>2</sup>Gratian, Decr., 2.33.3.1.88 (Fr. 1.1187f); Peter Lombard, Sent., 4.18.6; ET in Calvin, Inst. 1536, p. 387. See also, Calvin, Inst. (1559 Ed.), 3.4.4. On sin as spiritual leprosy, see Calvin Inst. 1536, ET, pp. 184f.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 184f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Luther, Explanation of the 95 Theses, Th. 7, LWAE, 31.104.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Luther, Babylonian Captivity, LWAE, 36.120; also Calvin, Inst., 3.4.12

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Luther, Babylonian Captivity, LWAE, 36.90.

<sup>5</sup>Quoted by Calvin, Inst. 1536, ET, p. 210, lines 33f; Inst. (1559 Ed.) 3.4.35n73.

<sup>6</sup>Melanchthon, Loci Communes (1521), 9 [LCC 19.143]; Calvin, Inst. 1536 p. 187, line 32, n.

Chapter 9

Page 80

<sup>1</sup>Luther defines true satisfaction [LWAE 36.89] as "the renewal of a man's life."

Chapter 10

Page 85

<sup>1</sup>Eck apparently does not understand synecdoche as it applies to the Lord's Supper.

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<sup>1</sup>Ch. 20 [PG 5.755f].

<sup>2</sup>Rheims (AD 895)

<sup>3</sup>Agde, in Gaul (AD 506)

<sup>4</sup>1541 Ed.: See Tome 4, Homily 34.

<sup>5</sup>See Calvin, Inst. 1536, ET pp. 154f.

## Chapter 11

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Luther, Babylonian Captivity, [PE 2.257-273].<sup>2</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst. 1536, ET, pp. 237f.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

## Chapter 12, Page 91

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Luther, Babylonian Captivity [PE 2.284-291].

## Chapter 13

Page 93

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 4.10.6 (LCC 21.1184, n.16).<sup>2</sup>Cf. ibid., 4.10.2 (LCC 21.1181, n.7).

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. ibid., 4.10.6, n.16 (1543).

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Luther, Doctrines of Men are to be Rejected [PE 2.451].<sup>2</sup>Luther, To the Christian Nobility [PE 2.144]; cf. Babylonian Captivity [PE 2.233f].<sup>3</sup>Luther, Freedom of a Christian Man, LWAE 31.349.<sup>4</sup>Luther, Heidelberg Disputation, 23, LWAE 31.54.<sup>5</sup>Cf. Luther, To the Christian Nobility [PE 2.76].

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin on the Third Use of the Law [Inst., 2.7.12-13].

## Chapter 14

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 2.8.28.

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<sup>1</sup>Luther, Babylonian Captivity [PE 2.433].

Chapter 15

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\*Zwingli, Exposition of the 67 Articles, Art. 20, CR Zw 2.202.

\*\*Also cf. Zwingli vs. Faber, First Zurich Disputation, 23 January 1523, ET in S. M. Jackson, Select Works of Huldreich Zwingli, pp. 64ff; Luther, Definition of Articles, Art. 38 [PE 3.112]; Calvin, Inst., 3.20.21-27. Note that the Council of Trent took a moderate position on this as "good and useful" (but not necessary for salvation). The Greeks (Confession of Peter Mogiles, 1643/72) were more extreme: duty and propriety to implore the intercession of Mary and the Saints with God for us.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Zwingli, Exposition of the 67 Articles, Art. 20, CR Zw 2.198.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2.199.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2.200.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 2.204.

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<sup>1</sup>For Zwingli's rejection of the Romanist "proof" of veneration of the saints on the basis of the liturgy or the canon of the Mass ("ora pro nobis"), see Exposition of the 67 Articles, Art. 20, CR ZW 2.213f.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., CR Zw 2.208. Zwingli actually questions the canonicity of the Apocalypse of Saint John at CR Zw 2.208f.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., CR Zw 2.210f.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. *ibid.*, CR Zw 2.205f.

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\*Used by Clichtoveus; quoted by Zwingli, Commentary on True and False Religion [ET, Latin Works, 3.269f]. Refutation by Zwingli, Exposition of the 67 Articles, Art. 20, CR Zw 2.212.

\*\*PL 38.1348-1376.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. H. Howorth, "The Influence of St. Jerome on the Canon of the Western Church," Journal of Theological Studies, 11 (1909-10), 323ff. Jerome's title, alternatively, Prologue to the Book of Solomon.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, De Neccesitate Reformandae Ecclesiae, Schipper Ed., 8.39; ET, Tracts, [CTS 1.131].

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\*On latria, see Augustine, Against Faustus, 20.22 [NPNF<sup>1</sup> 4.262f]; cf. Zwingli, Exposition of the 67 Articles, Art. 20, CR Zw 191f.

Chapter 16

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\*Cf. Calvin, Inst., 1.11.3 [LCC 20.102].

\*\*For Calvin's Critique of religious images, see Inst., 1.11-12; 2.8.17.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. ibid., 2.8.17ff.

Chapter 17

Page 128

<sup>1</sup>Calvin, Comm. Heb., 5:1 [CTS, p. 113]: "How extremely ridiculous then are they who seek by this passage to establish and support the sacrifice of the Mass!

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\*Calvin, Comm. Heb., 10:11-14: "He has hitherto labored enough and more than enough in defending the priesthood of Christ; the conclusion then is, that the ancient priesthood which is inconsistent with this, has ceased; for all the saints find a full consecration in the one offering of Christ."

Chapter 18

Page 134

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 4.13.

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\*M. James, Apocryphal New Testament, p. 467.

Chapter 19

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 4.12.22-28.



Chapter 21

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 4.12

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<sup>1</sup>PL 34.764 (Dt 24:7).

Chapter 24

Page 165

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Supplementa Calviniana, 2.365.28f, on Isaiah 24:16: basis of the theory of indulgences. Cf. Clement VI, Unigenitus Dei Filius, Denziger, Enchiridion, 29th ed., #550-552.

Chapter 25

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 3.5.9.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *ibid.*, 3.5.7.

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\*Cf. *ibid.*, 3.5.7, n. 15.

\*\**Ibid.*, 3.5.8.

Chapter 30

Page 201

<sup>1</sup>Is baptism necessary to salvation?

Yes: Augsburg Confession, 9: Baptism is necessary to salvation.

[See also Book of Concord, 33; Apology of the Augsburg Confession, 9 (p. 178). Cf. J. Westphal, Loci praecipui de vi, usu, et dignitate baptismi (Strasbourg, 1556), p. 242.

Hubmaier: Where does the unbaptized infant go? Is he damned or blessed? What does Scripture say of him? 1 Cor 15:22, &c.; Eph 2:3 [Schriften, pp. 154ff].

No: Zwingli, On Baptism [LCC 24.138f]: "...baptism in the New Testament is a covenant sign. It does not justify the one who is baptized, nor does it confirm his faith, for it is not possible for an external thing to confirm faith. For faith does not proceed

from external things. It proceeds only from the God who draws us. Therefore it cannot be grounded in any external thing." [Ibid., p. 153] Zwingli credits to his controversy with the Anabaptists, the fact that from it he was disabused of such erroneous views as the following: "the pouring of water washes away sin"; "the water of baptism cleanses children from a sin (which they never had); and that without it they would be damned." Calvin: Inst., 4.15.20: "God promises that He adopts our babies as His own before they are born, when he promises that He will be our God, and the God of our descendents after us [Gen 17:7]. Their salvation is embraced in His Word." [LCC 21.1321] Inst., 4.15.22: "Infants are not barred from the kingdom of heaven just because they happen to depart the present life before they have been immersed in water. Yet ... serious injustice is done to God's covenant if we do not assent to it, as if it were weak of itself, since its effect depends neither upon baptism nor upon any additions. Afterward, a sort of seal is added, the sacrament, not to confer efficacy upon God's promise as if were invalid of itself, but only to confirm it to us." &c. [LCC 21.1323].

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\*Cf. Calvin, Inst., 4.15.20: "It is not true to say that those who die without baptism will be deprived of the grace of regeneration."

Chapter 31

Page 210

<sup>1</sup>Gen 4:7 - cf. Calvin, Inst., 2.5.16; Comm. Gen., ad loc [CTS 1.204].

<sup>2</sup>Deut 30:11,15,19 - Cf. Calvin, Inst., 2.5.12 [LCC 20.331].

<sup>3</sup>Calvin, Inst. 1536, p. 4, line 29, n.

<sup>4</sup>Ecclus 15:14-18 - Calvin, Inst. (1559 Ed.), 2.5.18 [LCC 20.338]; De Castro, Adv. Haer., 9.3.

<sup>5</sup>See also Herborn, Locorum communium enchiridion, 38 [Corpus Catholicorum, 12.129]; Cochlaeus, De libero arbitrio (1525); Acts of the Conference of Ratisbonne [Regensburg] (1541), CR, Opera Calvini, 5. 518.

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<sup>1</sup>1 Cor 3:9 - cf. Calvin, Inst., 2.5.17.

<sup>2</sup>1 Cor 15:10 - Inst., 2.3.12 [LCC 20.306]; cf. Erasmus, De libero arbitrio.

<sup>3</sup>Is 1:19f - Inst., 2.5.10 [LCC 20.327].

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Comm. Zech., ad loc.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Inst., 1.16.9, n.21 [LCC 20.210].

Chapter 32, Page 231

<sup>1</sup>PL 107.816f.

Chapter 33

Page 243

<sup>1</sup>On Calvin's review of the history of the Church's Patrimony, see Inst. 1536, ET, pp. 275ff.

Chapter 34

Page 247

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Calvin, Harmony of the Four Last Books of Moses, Ex 25:23 [CTS 2.160f]. Calvin opposed elaborate and rich utensils for the Church, citing Acacius, Bishop of Amida, and harmonizing his stripping of the sacred table (after Christ had come) with the precious sacred vessels that prevailed under Old Testament Law. Cf. Inst. (1559 Ed.) PA 4; 4.4.8; 4.5.18.

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\*See p. 243, n. 1, above.

Chapter 35

Page 257

<sup>1</sup>Luther, Babylonian Captivity [ET, LWAE, 36.117]: "For that fiction of an 'indelible character' has long since become a laughing-stock." Cf. Augustine, De Bono Conjugali, 29.32.

## Chapter 37

Page 265

\*Cf. Luther, Preface, The German Mass and Order of Service (Jan. 1526), cited in Kidd, DCR, #95 (p. 195); Luther desires to retain the Latin service, alongside a German translation intended for simple laymen.



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**John Eck** (1486-1543) taught theology at the University of Ingolstadt, Bavaria, for thirty years.

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